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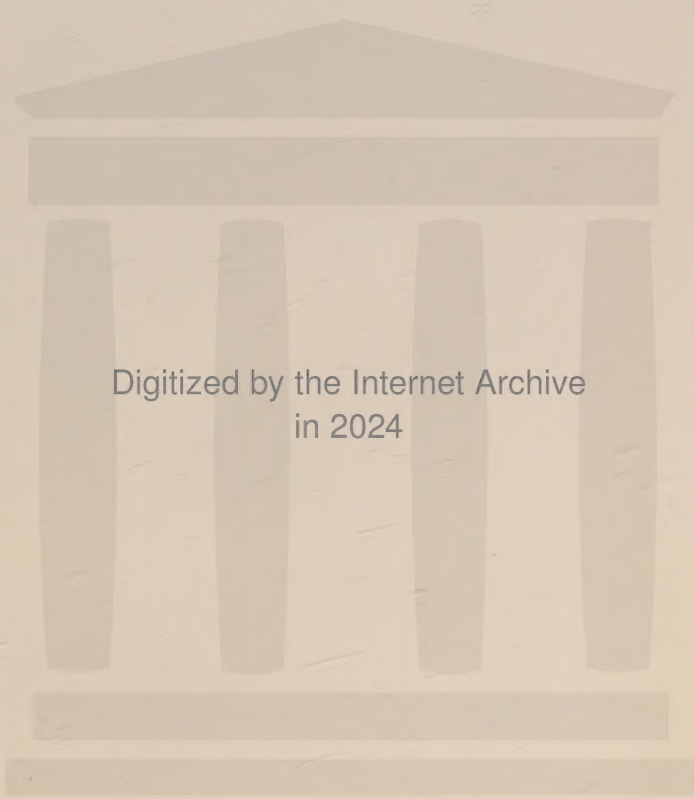

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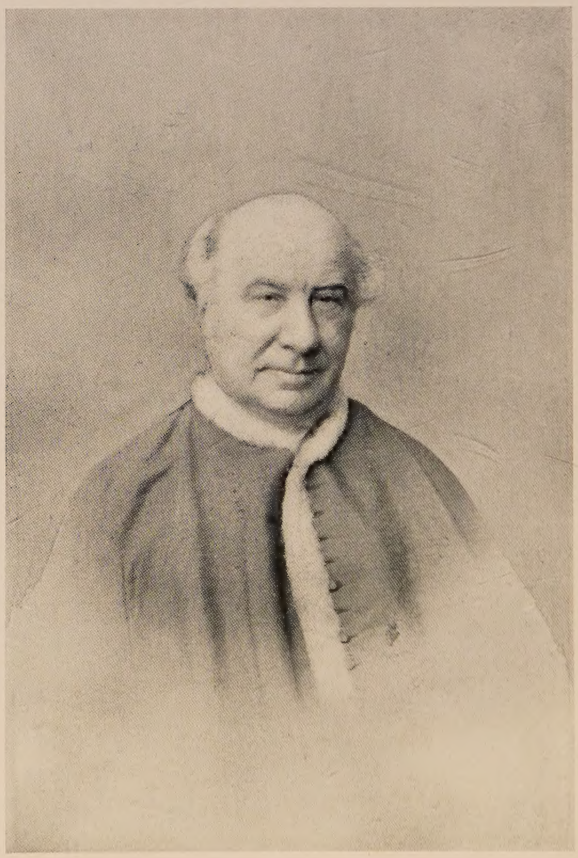

VERY REV. DANIEL ROCK, D.D.

Frontispiece

THE CHURCH OF OUR FATHERS

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By DANIEL ROCK, D.D.

[illegible]

A NEW [illegible]

JOHN MURRAY, [illegible]

THE
CHURCH OF OUR FATHERS

AS SEEN IN ST. OSMUND'S RITE FOR THE CATHEDRAL OF SALISBURY

WITH DISSERTATIONS ON THE BELIEF AND RITUAL IN ENGLAND BEFORE AND AFTER THE COMING OF THE NORMANS

By DANIEL ROCK, D.D.
CANON OF THE ENGLISH CHAPTER

WITHDRAWN

A NEW EDITION IN FOUR VOLUMES

EDITED BY G. W. HART AND W. H. FRERE
OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE RESURRECTION

VOLUME I

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET
1905

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EDITORS' PREFACE

A REPRINT of *The Church of Our Fathers* has long been needed. Published originally in 1849, it did much to advance liturgical and ceremonial studies; and its effect has been considerable, greater probably among those whom, as members of the English Church, Dr. Rock continually attacked, than on his own co-religionists, to whom his appeals have been directed somewhat in vain. Indeed, much of the vigorous liturgical study that has been going on in England these fifty years can be traced to this book.

In spite of the great advance that has been made in this field since the author's day, his work is still valuable, especially for the authorities quoted fully in the elaborate notes, and for the illustrations.

In this reprint the value has been enhanced chiefly by giving better references to the authorities, and by supplying a large number of additional illustrations. No attempt has been made beyond this to edit the book; it remains as Dr. Rock wrote it, except that in one or two places

some very irrelevant parts of his controversy with Mr. Maskell have been omitted: this seemed both fairer to the memory alike of Dr. Rock and of Mr. Maskell, and also desirable from the reader's point of view.

A postscript at the end of Vol. IV. will call attention to some of the points which most need correction or supplement, and take the place of the original Part III., which contained documents, all of them but one (see Appendix to Vol. I.) now available in a better form elsewhere.

Fr. Bernard Kelly kindly offered to the Editors a short Memoir of Dr. Rock, for insertion in this reprint, which they gladly accepted; it forms a valuable addition to the new issue, and their best thanks are due to him for it.

TO THE READER

WHO IS OF "THE HOUSEHOLD OF THE FAITH"

SHOULDST thou, whilst going through this work, meet with aught to kindle in thy heart a warmer love towards thy forefathers' belief, or to afford thee any new knowledge about the olden ritual of this land, do not forget him who wrote the book; but for kindness' sake beseech Heaven in a short prayer to watch over his ghostly welfare while he lives—after he is dead, then beg of our only Redeemer, Christ, to forgive him his sins, and shorten the time of his poor soul's woes and sufferings in Purgatory—say in his behalf, as they used to say throughout this land of old, "Jhesu, mercy" on him—O sweet Maiden, Holy "Marie, help" him now by thy prayers; yes, Catholic reader, of whatsoever nation of the earth, he who writes these words, whether living, or in the grave, thus calls to thee—

Thou art my brother or my sister,
Pray for me a "Pater noster." *

* Old grave-brass in Morley Church, Derbyshire.

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LIFE OF THE
VERY REV. DANIEL ROCK, D.D.

By the Rev. BERNARD W. KELLY

We have attempted in the following Memoir to give some particulars of the life and times of the late Very Rev. Daniel Rock, D.D., whose name deserves to be remembered not only for his rare learning as an historian and antiquary, but also for the part he played in the Catholic, and, to a certain extent, public life of England some half a century ago. The facts relating to him are not very numerous, for like his friend and contemporary, Dr. Lingard, he chose to lead a life of "learned obscurity." We have, however, endeavoured to present the few events that make up his biography in as attractive a form as possible, despite the fact that there was nothing especially eventful in the whole course of the great scholar's career.

Daniel Rock was born at Liverpool on the 31st of August, 1799. Of his parents we know little save that they were natives of Lancashire, and came of a stock that had suffered throughout generations for the Catholic faith.

Young Rock received the first part of his education under the priest in charge of the Chapel of St. Peter's, Seel Street, and in April 1813 was admitted as a student at St. Edmund's College, in Hertfordshire. This famous Catholic school had been founded as far back as 1769, as "The Old Hall Green Academy," by Bishop James Talbot, and, in spite of the then existing penal laws, endured and prospered. In 1795 it was enlarged and renamed St. Edmund's College, to receive a large contingent of the professors and students of the English College at Douai, which, after an existence of two hundred and thirteen years, had been swept away by the storm of the great French Revolution.

Rock, therefore, studied at St. Edmund's, when the traditions of the old College "beyond the sea" were "thick upon it." Of his proficiency as a student there are few records save that his natural aptitude for historical studies was greatly assisted by one of the professors, Father Louis Havard, who had been at Douai at the time of its spoliation by the French republicans. To this worthy man, the future author of *Hierurgia* and *The Church of Our Fathers* was also indebted for his first grounding in the principles of ecclesiastical archæology, a branch of learning then generally despised as savouring of "the Dark Ages."

In December 1818 Rock was one of a party of six church students selected by Dr. Griffiths, the

President of St. Edmund's, to proceed to Rome to prepare for the sacred priesthood within the venerable walls of the English College. That illustrious mother of scholars and martyrs had been closed since the sack of Rome by the French in 1798, but was restored as a seat of learning by Pope Pius VII., the year that Rock and his companions entered its hallowed precincts as students. The Rector was the Right Rev. Monsignor Gradwell, the scion of an ancient Lancashire Catholic family, who did much to renew the library, and reorganise the system of studies. Rock remained seven years in Rome. He took the degree of D.D. at the Gregorian University in 1825, and the same year was ordained priest. During his sojourn in the Eternal City, he formed the friendship of the Hon. John Talbot, afterwards sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, who about this time was engaged in collecting materials for his "Reasons for not taking the Test," a work which did considerable service to the Catholic cause during the stormy era of Emancipation.

The year that he was ordained priest, Rock returned to England, and was appointed by the Vicar Apostolic of London to pastoral work at St. Mary Moorfields, which had existed as a Catholic mission since 1733. Meantime, his friend Mr. Talbot succeeded to the Shrewsbury peerage, and in 1827 the Earl got him removed to his country mansion, Alton Towers, in quality of domestic

chaplain. The change from mission-work in the London slums to the peaceful seclusion of a nobleman's residence was, as may be supposed, highly gratifying to our author, who forthwith commenced to collect materials for his great treatise on the liturgy of the Mass. Lord Shrewsbury, on being acquainted with Rock's design, suggested that he should proceed to Rome for the purpose of studying the origin of the ancient liturgy in the libraries and catacombs of the Eternal City. The two years that our author spent abroad in consequence of this proposal, were absorbed in the acquisition of all the knowledge that could in any way serve to explain the doctrinal and historical aspects of the great Sacrifice. A number of drawings, which Rock caused to be executed, of the many picture and sculpture allusions to the holy Eucharist to be found in the Catacombs, were afterwards printed as plates in the *Hierurgia*, and form, indeed, one of its most valuable features.

That great monument of Rock's talent and industry appeared in 1833. It was in two volumes, entitled *Hierurgia, or the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass*, &c. Besides giving an exhaustive history of the great Eucharistic Sacrament and Sacrifice in the Latin, Greek, and Oriental Churches, Rock also included in this really valuable work some learned and comprehensive essays on the doctrine of Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, the Apostles' Creed, &c. The book was hailed with applause

by scholars at home and abroad, and it is safe to say that it will long rank as one of the best standard works on Catholic doctrine and liturgy extant.

In 1840 Dr. Rock quitted Alton Towers and the service of Lord Shrewsbury to go as chaplain to Sir Robert Throckmorton, Bart., of Buckland Farringdon, in Berkshire. Like the family of his former patron, the Throckmortons had ever been famous for their loyalty to the Catholic faith, and had suffered severely for it during the penal times. While at Buckland, Rock divided his time between study and assiduous attention to the duties of a Catholic priest on the English mission. His genial disposition and solid piety won for him the love and respect of all who came in contact with him, while his scholarly attainments made his name honoured far beyond the precincts of the retired Berkshire village. His first literary production, after taking up his residence at Buckland, was a learned treatise to prove against a published essay of Lord John Manners, that the Ancient Church of Ireland acknowledged the Pope's Supremacy. This historical brochure appeared in 1844. It had a considerable circulation, for, as the *Dublin Review* for March of that year remarked, the chief merit of the pamphlet consisted in "bringing prominently before the public eye many authorities . . . . not at all known in controversial works."

The Church of Our Fathers, which may fairly be considered as Rock's *opus magnum*, and the one by which his name will long be best known, was published "in three volumes bound in four" in 1849–53. As the work now lies before the reader, it will be unnecessary to describe its aim and scope further than to remark that it deals with "the belief and ritual in England before and after the coming of the Normans," and especially as exemplified in St. Osmund's Rite for the Cathedral of Salisbury. It was of course at once read by all interested in ecclesiastical history and antiquities, and the chorus of praise which everywhere greeted the appearance of this remarkable story was well summed up in the following criticism which appeared in the *Ecclesiologist* for August, 1853:—

"Dr. Rock has at last brought to a conclusion this valuable and erudite work; one particularly interesting to ecclesiologists of every Church, but more especially to Englishmen, as containing the fullest and most complete account which we possess of the religious observances and worship of our forefathers," &c.

In 1852, shortly after the re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in England by Pope Pius IX., Dr. Rock was named one of the Canons of the newly-formed diocese of Southwark. His old schoolfellow, the Rev. Mark Tierney, F.R.S., editor and continuator of Dod's *Church History of England*, was one of his brethren in the

Chapter, and Rock, the better to perform his new duties, and also to be nearer the great libraries of the capital, soon took up his residence in London.

About 1857, while residing at Holly Grove, a small country house that he had purchased near Lewes in Sussex, Canon Rock wrote a devotional poem in honour of the Blessed Virgin, entitled "The Mystic Crown of Mary." Dr. Rock, it may be remarked, was throughout his life the devout client of the holy Mother of God, in whose honour he was accustomed to recite the whole fifteen mysteries of the Rosary daily.

The last years of his life were spent almost entirely at his house in London, 17 Essex Villas, Kensington. His kindly disposition and widely-known scholarship made him a great favourite with the more serious members of the literary and fashionable world. His "at homes" on Thursday afternoons were attended by numbers of the nobility and learned classes, whose presence round the venerable Canon recalled the brilliant Salons of the Abbé Fleury in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Chief among the distinguished friends and acquaintances of the Doctor were Monckton Milnes (Lord Houghton) Lord Romilly, Master of the Rolls, Lord and Lady Holland, &c.

In the year 1862 Rock came out in an entirely new character as one of the leading members of the Committee of the South Kensington Museum.

To this mammoth collection "of bric-à-brac and vertu" the Canon contributed, among other exhibits, a portable altar once the property of Cardinal Bessarion of Council of Florence fame, a copper-gilt thurible of the twelfth century, representing the three Children in the fiery furnace, and a silver-gilt chalice said to have belonged to Pope Boniface VIII. (1294–1303). The very interesting remarks on ecclesiastical vestments and embroideries written by Dr. Rock for the elaborate Catalogue of the Exhibition were afterwards enlarged by him, and published as a separate monograph entitled *Textile Fabrics* in 1870. It is now issued as a text-book on the subject by the Committee of Council on Education.

Canon Rock died rather suddenly at Kensington on the 28th of November, 1871, in the seventy-third year of his age. On Tuesday, 5th December, his remains were taken to St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, where a solemn requiem Mass for the repose of his soul was celebrated in the presence of the Bishop of the diocese, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Danell, many clergy, and a large concourse of friends of the deceased. At the conclusion of the obsequies, the body was removed to Kensal Green and interred in the Catholic Cemetery there. With the exception of some bequests to intimate friends and annuities to his servants, the bulk of Dr. Rock's property, including the valuable library and collection of antiquities he had formed, was

bequeathed to the Rt. Rev. Bishop Danell and his Vicar-General, Dr. Crookall. They are now preserved at the Bishop's House, St. George's Road, Southwark, and the diocesan Seminary, Wonersh.

The notices of Rock's life and work in the contemporary press were numerous and without exception highly eulogistic. The consensus of journalistic commendation was in some instances corroborated by letters of private individuals to the newspapers, all bearing ample testimony to the wide erudition and great private worth of "the learned Dr. Rock." We append as a fit conclusion to this little life-sketch the appreciative obituary notice which appeared in *Notes and Queries* for 9th December, 1871. The tribute is all the more appropriate and interesting as the object of it had enriched the periodical in question with many a learned disquisition anent those subjects of by-gone lore in which he was so profoundly versed. The editorial runs as follows: "It is with unfeigned regret that we announce the death of one who was for many years a frequent and most valuable contributor to these columns, the Rev. Daniel Rock, D.D., the author of *Hierurgia*, who was alike distinguished for his learning, his varied archæological acquirements, and his genial temperament, and was highly esteemed by all who enjoyed the advantage of knowing him. His death, which

took place on the 28th ult., in the seventy-third year of his age, will be a great loss to antiquarian science, and an especial loss to the Archæological Institute, of which of late years he had been one of the most active and influential members."

PART THE FIRST

CHAPTER I

I. In the heart of every Catholic Englishman, who is truly fond of his mother-land, there burns a strong and unquenchable love for the Church of our Fathers.

On looking back, through the dimness of ages, upon the birth and growth of the true belief in this island, whatever such an one finds belonging to the liturgy and sacred rites, either of the British, Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo-Norman period, immediately becomes to him, however small a fragment it may be, a dear and an all-absorbing object. He reverently gathers up the treasure, and welcomes it as a relic hallowed to his mind by its ancient use in the religious worship of his pious and believing forefathers.

Ere he can take off his eyes from gazing upon his newly-found prize, a thought arises, and whispers to him that, perhaps other and larger memorials of these same old and venerable ceremonials may (2) be still in being somewhere or another, and there needs nothing more than a little

untiring search to bring them forth from the dark and dusty nook wherein they now lie hidden.

With feelings such as these, I deemed it worth the while to look for, and bring together, everything belonging to the liturgy and ritual employed, at any time, in Catholic England.

Whilst talking, on quite another subject, with a friend, through a word he happened to let fall, I learnt, that at Salisbury there was a gentleman who had by him a transcript of the old Sarum ceremonies,—the original manuscript of which is still kept in the cathedral library of that city. Waiving all formalities, and without asking any one for a letter of introduction, I wrote at once to Mr. Hatcher (for such is the gentleman's name), saying, that being made aware of the literary and ecclesiastical treasure that had fallen into his hands, I should feel myself indebted to his kindness if he would allow me the use of his transcript of St. Osmund's work on the Sarum rite. Though personally quite unknown to one another, Mr. Hatcher, with the true warm-heartedness of a scholar wishful to spread the knowledge of our national antiquities and literature, sent me an answer as prompt as it was handsome. In the first instance, he immediately forwarded to me all that he then had,—some extracts which he had made from the Salisbury codex. But afterwards he enlarged his (3) first favour by lending me a

copy, obligingly written out by his son, Mr. W. H. Hatcher, of the whole of that manuscript. Along with this, he was so good as to send me a transcript of the inventory of the vestments and other ornaments belonging to Salisbury Cathedral in the year 1222.[1] On inquiry, I learn that to Mr. Hatcher belongs the merit of having first called attention to St. Osmund's "Treatise on the Divine Offices," now under consideration. He pointed it out to the notice of Dr. Fisher [Bishop of Salisbury 1807–1825] as long ago as A.D. 1816. It was Dr. Burgess [Bishop 1825–1837], however, who, at his own expense, got this valuable monument of antiquity transcribed; and the copy which he thus ordered to be made, was ultimately given, either by himself, or, after his death, by his lady, Mrs. Burgess, to the library of Salisbury Cathedral.

On the discovery of the foundations of Old Sarum church, Mr. Hatcher had been invited, by Dr. Burgess, to collate this copy with the original manuscript; and he availed himself of such an opportunity to procure another transcript, with the first copy and the codex itself before him. From this second copy, the one kindly written out for my use by Mr. Hatcher's son, Mr. W. H. Hatcher, was made. After I had transcribed, and

[1] [Printed by Rock in an Appendix, and several times since, and therefore not now reprinted. References are given for it to Wordsworth, *Salisbury Processions and Ceremonies* (Cambridge, 1901).]

sent back this borrowed copy, through some hints thrown out at the time by myself, Mr. Hatcher, (4) since dead, was induced to collate his own manuscript again with the original; and, whilst these sheets were going through the press, he was so good as to compare them with his revised copy, and has thus enabled me to furnish the reader with a short list of additions and corrections. We will now pass on to—

II.—The Description of the Salisbury MS., from which this Treatise of St. Osmund on the Divine Offices is taken.

It is a vellum codex, of the size of what is now known as a quarto. Its contents are miscellaneous; but they are documents of an early period, and mostly refer to the church at Old Sarum. Part of this volume is thought to have been an ancient chartulary. The treatise of St. Osmund, and De Wanda's narrative of the foundation of the present cathedral, are, however, its most conspicuous portions. It is made up of materials which, at some time, must have evidently stood apart, and when thrown together, were bound up in a very slovenly way,—for De Wanda's narrative is sundered. There is a fragment of what looks like a Chapter register, which may perhaps have given rise to the unapt title of *Vetus Registrum*, with which the volume at present is strangely

inscribed.[2] Of its one hundred and eighty-one pages, De Wanda fills eight, and St. Osmund's treatise, nineteen; which will not be thought too narrow a (5) space to hold the latter work, when it be borne in mind, that almost every word is written with a contraction of such a cramped form, that a long sentence may be thus easily squeezed into a very narrow compass.

III.—In trying to fix—

THE AGE OF OUR MS.,

we are unable to do more than hazard a rough guess.

From the incidental way in which St. Osmund is spoken of in the opening paragraph of the treatise, it is clear that the Salisbury MS. must have been written out by a scribe who lived after the decease of that holy bishop, who is there referred to as of "happy memory"—a form of speech never adopted but after the death of the mentioned personage.

In Chapter LVI,[3] among the smaller double feasts of the year, is put down that of St. Thomas the

[2] [See *Register of St. Osmund* (Rolls Series, No. 78), where the whole is printed. The Sarum Treatise has been re-edited with a fuller treatment in Frere, *Use of Sarum*, vol. i. (Cambridge, 1898), and future references will be made to this, instead of to the print which Dr. Rock gave in the appendix of the first edition. See also the postscript in vol. iv. of this edition.]

[3] [*Use of Sarum*, i. 125, § liv. (56).]

Martyr. But the saintly and illustrious archbishop of Canterbury was not crowned with martyrdom until A.D. 1170, nor canonized by Pope Alexander III. until three years afterwards: hence our MS. could not possibly have been written out before that period. Now, as St. Osmund died A.D. 1099, the better part of a century must have slipped away between his time and the martyrdom of St. Thomas à Becket; and, so far, it is certain that the MS. itself is not older than the latter end of (6) the twelfth century. It would seem, indeed, not to be quite so old even as that. Not having had, as yet, an opportunity of looking at the Salisbury codex, I can judge of it only from hearsay; but from what I am told of the frequency and form of its contractions, and bearing in mind that the style of handwriting is not very unlike that employed in the narrative of De Wanda, bound up along with it in the same volume, I am led to suspect it may be of almost the same age,—that is, of the time of our Henry III., or somewhere about the early part of the thirteenth century.

IV.—Respecting—

THE ENTIRENESS OF THE TEXT OF THIS TREATISE,

as exhibited by the manuscript from which it is here published for the first time, a question will

naturally be put—"Have we now got it as whole as it came from St. Osmund's pen?" Whether any more early copies of this interesting work be still in existence we do not know, and are therefore hindered from answering the question in as decisive a manner as we might, had we been able to have collated our Salisbury with other MSS. By looking, however, at the internal construction of this work, and beholding how completely its arrangement is fitted to its purpose, the likelihood is, that if we except the service for Good Friday, and some of that belonging to Holy Saturday, we (7) possess the "Treatise on the Divine Offices" as complete as it was bequeathed to the world by St. Osmund. In such a book, that holy bishop would naturally have gone the round of the ecclesiastical year, marking out as he went along, not merely the liturgical variation in the observances for the sanctification of each particular season, and how every high feast was to be hallowed, but he must have also entered into those smaller specifications of the way in which the every-day service of his Church should be performed, and have made arrangements needful for the goodly order in their ritual movements of such a body as a dean and chapter, as well as have provided for the due solemnization of any of those ceremonials which often arise from accidental circumstances: the Treatise, as we now have it, fulfils all these requirements, and thus warrants the belief that,

excepting the services wanting for the two above-mentioned days in Holy Week, it is quite entire.

Though, as was just now said, an early copy of the whole Treatise has not as yet been found anywhere but in the Salisbury MS., a part of it, however—and by no means a small one—is undeniably preserved to us among the records of Lichfield cathedral. Bishop Hugh de Nonant, who governed this latter diocese from A.D. 1188 to 1198, revised and enlarged the body of statutes which he found in his church for the government of its chapter, and the regulation of its services and ritual. Hugh (8) Pateshull, who, after a two years' possession of that see, died A.D. 1241, in a reconstruction of his predecessor's enactments, added to their number. But, in emulating the zeal, both these prelates borrowed unstintedly from the book of St. Osmund; and while they adopted his ordinances, kept so closely to the letter of them, as to make it clear that they did nothing more than write out, word for word, from the "Treatise on the Divine Offices" those passages which they chose to embody in their own statutes for Lichfield.

Upon the authority of these extracts which belong to the pen of St. Osmund, a few short sentences, presumed to be wanting in the Salisbury MS. of the Treatise, have been inserted in this edition of it, from a supposition that they really stood part of the original text as it reached the

hands of the above-named bishops of Lichfield. Such supposed original readings shall be duly pointed out to the reader.

V.—With regard to—

THE TITLE AFFIXED TO THIS WORK

on the Divine Offices, it should be observed that in the Salisbury MS. no specific designation for it is mentioned.

That "Ordinale" is inapplicable to it, is evident from the fact that another and, seemingly, an earlier production of St. Osmund's, bearing such a name, was already in use; and is more than once (9) referred to by him.[4] In the introduction, which must have been appended to this work after the Saint's death, it is called a "Treatise." Furthermore, "Ordinale," according to the signification which that word seems to have always borne in the ecclesiastical vocabulary of Catholic England, meant a book which showed what lessons ought to be read at matins; what responses, or, as they were formerly called, "histories," were to be sung on Sundays and on ferials or day unoccupied by the service of any solemnity, or for a saint; what commemorations were to be made during the week. "Ordinale," moreover, indicated the same thing, and was only another

[4] [*Use of Sarum*, i. 63, 157, &c.]

name for the Pye or Directory;[5] in fact it contained very little more (10) besides what is now given in a small annual publication known among the Catholic priesthood of this kingdom as the "Ordo," or priest's Directory for finding the Mass and the Divine Office, every day in the year.

The earliest mention of St. Osmund's work on the Church Offices, is made by Bromton,[6] who wrote his chronicles towards the end of the twelfth century, just a hundred years after the Saint's death. But whether the Abbot of Jervaux meant the Ordinal, or the present Treatise, or both, it is impossible to determine. Without noticing the title of St. Osmund's book, our chronicler describes its object to be that of regulating the ecclesiastical service; and he ranks

[5] Una cum ordinali suo quod usitato vocabulo dicitur Pica sive directorium sacerdotum. *Breviarium sive portiforium secundum usum Sarum, pars hyemalis*, fol. i. b. [Cp. title-page of the reprint, Cambridge, 1882].

Liber presens directorium sacerdotum, quem pica Sarum vulgo vocitat clerus. [Wordsworth, *Direct. Sac.* (H.B.S.), i. 3.]

In the Douce collection, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, there is a handbill advertisement, put forth by Caxton, stating, "If it plese any man, spirituel or temporel, to bye ony Pyes of two and three comemoracions of Salisburi use, enprynted after the forme of this present lettre, he shal have them good chepe" [See the facsimile (ed. Nicholson), 1892].

According to some, the *Directorium* was called *The Pie*, because it was written in letters *black* and *red;* as the Friars de Pica were so named from their parti-coloured raiment, black and white—the plumage of a magpie.—*English Founders and Founderies*, p. 23.

[6] Hic (Osmundus) composuit librum ordinalem ecclesiastici officii quem Consuetudinarium vocant, quo fere tota nunc Anglia, Wallia, et Hibernia, utitur.—*Chron. Johan. Bromton*, ed. Twysden, p. 977 [Cp. Wordsworth, *Linc. Cath. Stat.* ii. 861].

it among those writings which, by the usage of the (11) period, were known under one indiscriminating appellation, "Consuetudinary." Now, as the Salisbury MS. does not say what we ought to call St. Osmund's regulations, we must fain look about for some name to bestow upon them. The one under which they now come forth, is given with the idea that while such a title aptly expresses the nature of the book at the head of which it stands, and embodies the terms employed by ancient writers in speaking of it, that title will also hinder the book itself from being mistaken for the "Ordinale," another and a widely different work.

Protestant writers upon the history and antiquities of the Church in this country, have often allowed themselves to be easily misled into no small

VI.—Error concerning Changes imagined to have been wrought by St. Osmund in our National Ecclesiastical Services.

Not for a moment must it be thought that this holy man either took away one smallest jot from the text of the liturgy for offering up the sacrifice of the mass, or altered a word of the ritual for administering any of the seven sacraments. Both the Sacrifice and the Sacraments were hallowed things, which the Normans looked upon with the

like deep reverence and holy feeling as the Anglo-Saxons: for each nation's belief upon these articles (12) of Christian faith was identical, flowing as it did out of the self-same well-spring of truth—the apostolic see, the chair of St. Peter.

If there be one spot throughout the world more strongly linked than another to Rome by those dear and holy ties of religious kindred, it is this our own island. Under God, Britain must ever own for her spiritual father a Roman pontiff, St. Eleutherius, who sent to her teachers, and brought her as a nation within the pale of Christendom, by founding her church-government, and bestowing a regular hierarchy upon her, at the entreaties of one of her princes, Lucius, in the second century. From Rome, therefore, and from a Pope of Rome, our early British forefathers first got their Christian belief, their first bishops, and their first liturgy.[7]

(13) When a black night of paganism and idolatry had again darkened the greater portion of our

[7] Anno ab incarnatione Domini centesimo quinquagesimo sexto, Marcus Antonius Verus, decimus-quartus ab Augusto, regnum cum Aurelio Commodo fratre suscepit; quorum temporibus, cum Eleutherius, vir sanctus, pontificatui Romanæ ecclesiæ præesset, misit ad eum Lucius, Britanniarum rex, epistolam, obsecrans, ut per ejus mandatum, Christianus efficeretur, et mox effectum piæ postulationis consecutus est; susceptamque fidem Britanni usque in tempora Dioclesiani principis inviolatam integramque quieta in pace servabant.—Beda, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 4.

Quibus etiam diebus Lucius, Britanniæ rex, missa ad Eleutherium, Romæ episcopum, epistola, ut Christianus efficeretur impetrat.—Freculfus (*circa* A.D. 824), *Chron.* [*P.L.* cvi. 1167].

island, under the heathenish sway of the Anglo-Saxons, another pope, St. Gregory the Great,[8] drove away this shadow of death overcasting it. Yes: it was from Rome, that, a second time, the light of the Gospel arose and dawned upon these shores; and so warmly did it shine, and its rays fell so softly and so sweetly, that the soil soon quickened into spiritual life. The length and breadth of this land was cleansed from idolatry, and every hill and dell, and lowly hamlet, had its own-born patron[9] saint; and the Anglo-Saxons, in becoming (14) a Christian, became a holy, people. The grim rites of Woden were laid aside for the clean sacrifice of the new law in the Catholic liturgy; and the converted Saxons forgot their heathenish songs, and their superstitious runes, to chant the beautiful hymns of Christian Rome in the strains of Gregory, its illustrious pontiff,

[8] "In his (Ethelbert's) days," says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "the holy Pope Gregory sent us baptism" [R.S. xxiii. 30, 31.]

[9] Talking of the change wrought among the Anglo-Saxons by their becoming Christians, Malmesbury says: Primis adventus sui annis, vultu et gestu barbarico, usu bellico, ritu fanatico vivebant; sed postmodum, Christi fide suscepta, paulatim, et per incrementa temporis, pro otio quod actitabant, exercitium armorum in secundis ponentes, omnem in religione operam insumpsere. . . . De regibus dico, qui pro amplitudine potestatis licenter indulgere voluptatibus possent: quorum quidam in patria, quidam Romæ, mutato habitu, cœleste lucrati sunt regnum, beatum nacti commercium. Multi specie tenus tota vita mundum amplexi, ut thesauros egenis effunderent, monasteriis dividerent. Quid dicam de tot episcopis, heremitis, abbatibus? nonne tota insula tantis reliquiis indigenarum fulgurat, ut vix aliquem vicum insignem prætereas ubi novi Sancti nomen non audias; quam multorum etiam periit memoria pro scriptorum inopia.—William of Malmesbury, *De gestis Reg. Anglorum*, iii. 245 [R.S. xc. 304].]

and their apostle,[10] as they bowed them down to worship at the adorable mysteries.

But what was the belief, what the religious practices, of these our Anglo-Saxon forefathers? (15) They themselves believed, and they taught others to believe, that—

VII.—The Mass is a Sacrifice in which the Body and Blood of Christ are truly and substantially present.

As vouchers for the belief of the Anglo-Saxons, happily we still have the writings of men who were either called to fill the highest places amid the priesthood of that people, or, through their learning and their holiness, have been looked up to by their own countrymen, and by the rest of Christendom, as the brightest lights not merely of this land of their birth, but of the whole Catholic Church at the period when they lived.

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[10] By the council of Clovesho (A.D. 747), it was decreed that the festivals of St. Gregory and St. Augustin should be kept by the Anglo-Saxon Church; and that the names of both saints should be inserted in the Litany, and the aid of their prayers asked for: Septimo decimo constitutum est præcepto, ut dies natalitius beati papæ Gregorii, et dies quoque depositionis Sancti Augustini archiepiscopi atque confessoris, qui genti Anglorum missus a præfato papa et patre nostro Gregorio, scientiam fidei, baptismi sacramentum, et cœlestis patriæ notitiam primus attulit, ab omnibus, sicut decet, honorifice venerentur . . . nomenque ejusdem beati patris et doctoris nostri Augustini in litaniæ decantatione, post Sancti Gregorii invocationem semper dicatur.—Cap. xvii. *De fest. colend. S. Greg. et August.:* Wilkins, *Concil. Mag. Brit.* i. 97.

To such writers we must listen as to teachers who speak in the voice of authority on behalf of Anglo-Saxon doctrine. Now, these venerable men lay it down distinctly and broadly, that in God's Church there is a sacrifice, and that sacrifice—the mass.

Such, for instance, is the teaching of Theodore, consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury A.D. 668, who calls the mass a sacrifice, and says that "no priest should offer up in sacrifice anything else besides what the Lord has taught to be offered up, that is, unleavened bread and wine mingled with water."[11]

(16) Ecgberht, Archbishop of York, A.D. 732, observes "that only bishops and priests ought to offer up sacrifice."[12]

That the mass is a sacrifice, is asserted by Ven. Beda, who calls it "the offering up of the healing sacrifice," "the victim of the holy oblation," "the

[11] *Liber Pœnit.*, c. xlv. *De Commemoratione Defunctorum, vel de Missa pro eis*, § 4.—Purgatio mortui hominis per sacrificium sacerdotis, . . . offerimus Deo sacrificium tercia die, § 7. Solent nonnulli interrogare, si liceat cotidie orare, et sacrificium Deo offerre pro mortuis, § 15. Nonnulli solent interrogare, si pro omnibus regeneratis liceat sacrificium Mediatoris offerre, quamvis flagitiosissime viventibus? xlviii. 17. Nullus namque presbiter nihil aliud in sacrificio offerat præter hoc quod Dominus docuit offerendum; id est, panem sine fermento, et vinum cum aqua mixtum; quia de latere Domini sanguis et aqua exivit.—Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, ii. 52, 53, 58. This is a work of the greatest value, and cannot be too strongly recommended to every one wishful of knowing the belief and discipline of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

[12] Sacrificium offerre non debent, nisi episcopi et presbiteri.—*Excerptiones;* pref. *Ibid.*, ii. 97.

mysteries of the most holy offering."[13] St. Beda (17) and his countrymen held that the immolation of this sacrifice was an injunction laid upon the priesthood of His Church by Christ Himself. They declared that, instead of the flesh and blood of a lamb, we now have the sacrament of Christ's flesh and blood, existing under the likeness of bread and wine; but in which Christ tells us there is His very self, to whom the Lord has sworn: Thou art a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedech.[14] Believing, therefore, as the Anglo-

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[13] Vocatis fratribus—missas fieri, atque omnes communicare more solito præcepit, simul et infirmanti puero de eodem sacrificio Dominicæ oblationis particulam deferri mandavit.—*Hist. Eccles.* iv. 14.

Missarum sollemnia — oblatio hostiæ salutaris — victima sacræ oblationis—sacrificium salutare.—*Ibid.*, iv. 22.

Quotidie sacrificium Deo victimæ salutaris offerebant (duo quidam presbiteri de natione Anglorum) habentes secum vascula sacra, et tabulam, altaris vice, dedicatam.—*Ibid.*, v. 10.

Quotidie missa cantata salutaris hostiæ Deo munus offerret.—Beda [*Vit. Abb.* ii., *P.L.* xciv. 730].

Mysteria sacrosanctæ oblationis.—*Epist. ad Ecgbertum* [*P.L.* xciv. 668].

[14] Ut videlicet pro carne agni vel sanguine, suæ carnis sanguinisque sacramentum in *panis* ac *vini figura* subsistens ipsum se esse monstraret cui juravit Dominus . . . "tu es sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech."—S. Beda, *In Lucæ Evang.* vi. 22 [*P.L.* xcii. 596].

Immolato Dominici corporis sacrificio et sanguinis Christi libamine.—*Vita S. Guthlaci*, auctore Felice ejus æquali (circa A.D. 714) in Mabillon, *AA. SS. Bened.*, iii. 272.

Hic sacerdotis ammunitione Christi inbuti memores illius esse provitentur quia ipsis celebratio sacrificii huius commissa est ad consecrandum.—*De Ordine Missæ* in *Bodl. MS. Hatton* 93, fol. 29.

In the prayer at blessing the altar-canopy, given in an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical in the British Museum (*Tiberius* C. i., fol. 106, verso), it is said: Altaris tui (Deus) in quo unigenitus filius tuus

Saxons reverently did, the real presence of Christ (18) in the sacrifice of the altar,[15] their teachers naturally warned them of the guilt of an unworthy communion; and told them that if cleanness was rigidly required in those who should taste of the typical bread hallowed by the hands of Moses, how much more ought he to take heed to himself and be clean, who was about receiving the bread which, taken up by the holy and venerable hands of Christ, and consecrated into the sacrament of His body, is, in memory of His death, bestowed upon mortals as a (19) help towards life everlasting.[16] But this is not

Dominus noster Ihesus Christus . . . fidelium manibus jugiter immolatur [Cp. *Lacy Pontif*, 210].

Quid aliud significat in fractione huius panis nisi qui corpus suum manducabile præbuit.—*De Ordine Missæ*, *MS. Hatton* 93, fol. 26. This Anglo-Saxon MS. is of the early part of the ninth century, and a fac-simile of this script is given by Hickes in his *Thesaurus*, i. 176.

[15] *Accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas.* In hoc pane, quis alius nisi ille panis vivus designatur qui de cælo discendit.—*Ibid.*, fol. 27, b.

Accepto quoque calice, hoc ait; sanguinis mei calicem accipite et bibite. Non dixit Dominus; accipite panem hunc consecratum et comedite in vice corporis mei, vel bibite vinum hoc consecratum in vice sanguinis mei; sed nulla figura, nulla circuitione usus hoc, inquit, est corpus meum, et hic est sanguis meus, utque omnes excluderet errorum ambages, quod, inquit, corpus pro vobis tradetur, et qui sanguis pro vobis fundetur.—*Liber Pontificalis*, *MS. Cott. Tiberius*, C. i., fol. 4. *Sermo in Vigilia Passionis*, in Wanley, p. 221, sæc. xi.

[16] Si autem tam solerter munditia quærebatur ejus, qui sanctificatum Moysi manibus panem typicum gustaret: quantam necesse est munditiæ curam gerat, qui in sanctas ac venerabiles Christi manus acceptum panem, in sacramentum corporis ejus consecratum, in memoriam mortis ejus mortalibus creditum, ad vitæ perennis est auxilia sumpturus?—Beda in *Samuelem alleg. Expos.*, Lib. iii. [*P.L.* xci. 651].

all: from words equally strong and unmistakable, we may hear proclaimed—

VIII.—The Belief of the Anglo-Saxons in Transubstantiation.

"Daily," according to St. Beda, "daily does Christ wash us from our sins in His own blood, when the remembrance of His blessed passion is rehearsed at the altar; when the creature of bread and wine, by the unspeakable hallowing of the Spirit, is transferred into the sacrament of His flesh and blood."[17]

(20) In writing to Paulinus, our countryman Alcuin recommends himself to his good prayers, and begs to be more especially remembered by him at mass: "At that time," says Alcuin to his friend, "when thou shalt consecrate bread and wine into the substance of the body and blood of Christ."[18] Again, (21) in the letter he sent to his

[17] Non solum autem lavit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo, quando sanguinem suum dedit in cruce pro nobis, vel quando unusquisque nostrum mysterio sacrosanctæ passionis illius baptismo aquæ ablutus est, verum etiam quotidie tollit peccata mundi. Lavit itaque nos a peccatis nostris quotidie in sanguine suo cum ejusdem beatæ passionis ad altare memoria replicatur cum panis et vini creatura in sacramentum carnis et sanguinis ejus ineffabili spiritus sanctificatione transfertur: sicque corpus et sanguis illius non infidelium manibus ad perniciem ipsorum funditur et occiditur, sed fidelium ore suam sumitur in salutem.—Beda, *Hom.*, i. 14 [*P.L.* xciv. 75].

[18] Ne, quæso, obliviscaris in tuis sanctis orationibus nomen amici tui Albini; sed in aliquo memoriæ gazophylacio reconde illud, et profer eo tempore opportuno, quo panem et vinum in substantiam

fellow-monks at Lyons, Alcuin speaks of "the bread which is consecrated into the body, and the wine into the blood of Christ."[19]

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corporis et sanguinis Christi consecraveris.—Ed. Froben, *Epist.* xxxvi. (xli.) *ad Paulinum Patriarcham* [*P.L.* c. 205].

These words of our Alcuin are quite as strong upon Transubstantiation as those of Osbern of Canterbury, who in writing the life of St. Dunstan, says: Pontifex (S. Dunstanus) ad aram reducitur, transferens omnipotentissimis Domini verbis speciem panis et vini in veram substantiam carnis et sanguinis Christi.—*Vita S. Dunstani*, in AA. SS. Maji, iv. 375.

Nor is the teaching of Alcuin's scholar, Aimo, A.D. 841, less explicit, where, writing on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, he says: Substantiam ergo panis et vini, quæ super altare ponuntur, fieri corpus Christi et sanguinem per mysterium sacerdotis et gratiarum actionem. Deo hoc operante divina gratia, secreta potestate, nefandissimæ dementiæ est fidelibus mentibus dubitare. Credimus itaque et fideliter confitemur et tenemus quod substantia illa panis scilicet et vini, per operationem divinæ virtutis, ut jam dictum est, id est, natura panis et vini substantialiter convertantur in aliam substantiam, id est, in carnem et sanguinem. Non enim impossibile est apud omnipotentiam divinæ rationis in quidquid voluerit institutas mutare naturas, cum non fuit ei impossibile easdem naturas, cum non fuit ex nihilo quando voluit instituere. Nam si de nihilo aliquid facere potest, tunc aliquid facere ex aliquo non impossibile est. Commutat ergo invisibilis sacerdos suas visibiles creaturas in substantiam suæ carnis et sanguinis secreta potestate. In quo quidem Christi corpore et sanguine propter sumentium horrorem sapor panis et vini remanet et figura, substantiarum natura in Corpus Christi et Sanguinem omnino conversa; sed aliud renuntiant sensus carnis, aliud renuntiat fides mentis. Sensus carnis nihil aliud renuntiare possunt quam sentiunt: intellectus autem mentis et fides veram Christi carnem et sanguinem renuntiat et confitetur: ut tanto magis coronam suæ fidei recipiat et meritum, quanto magis credit ex integro, quod omnino remotum est a sensibus carnis.—Aimo, *Miscellanea* [*P.L.* cxviii. 815–817].

[19] Audivimus quoque aliquos in illis partibus adfirmare, salem esse in sacrificium corporis Christi mittendum. Quam consuetudinem nec universalis observat ecclesia, nec Romana custodit auctoritas. . . . Tria sunt quæ in sacrificio hujus testimonii offerenda sunt; panis, et aqua, et vinum. . . . Sic et panis, qui in corpus Christi consecratur, absque fermento ullius alterius infectionis, debet esse

(22) For a later period in the annals of the Anglo-Saxon Church, we have the testimony of the homilist Ælfric, who, in his sermon on the "Sacrifice" on Easter-day, thus lays down the doctrine of Transubstantiation in clear and positive language: "Now, certain men have often inquired, and yet frequently inquire, how the bread which is prepared from corn, and baked by the heat of fire, can be changed to Christ's body; or the wine, which is wrung from many berries, can by any blessing be changed to the Lord's blood? Now, we say to such men, that some things are said of Christ typically, some literally. He is called bread typically, and lamb, and lion, and whatever else. He is bread, because he is the life of us, and of angels; he is called a lamb, for his innocence; a lion, for his strength, wherewith he overcame the strong devil. But yet, according to true nature, Christ is (23) neither bread, nor a lamb, nor a lion. Why, then, is the holy

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mundissimus; et aqua absque omni sorde purissima, et vinum absque omni commixtione alterius liquoris nisi aquæ purgatissimum. Igitur aqua utrique conveniat. Ex aqua et farina panis fit, qui consecratur in corpus Christi: aqua et vinum in sanguinem consecrabitur Christi. . . . Numquid caro Christi computruit in sepulchro, ut nunc sale indigeat corpus ejus in sacrificio?—Alcuin, Epist. lxxv. (xc.), *Ad Fratres Lugdunenses*, i. 107 [*P.L.*, c. 289].

In the life of our Anglo-Saxon countryman, St. Wigbert, who was called to Germany by St. Boniface, it is said by his biographer, Lupus (who lived A.D. 830): Dum quondam rem divinam de more faceret, incertum quo casu vinum, sine quo sanguis Domini non conficitur, defuit.—*Vita S. Wigberti*, inter opera S. Lupi, ix. 300, ed. Baluze [*P.L.* cxix. 686].

housel called Christ's body, or his blood, if it is not truly what it is called? But the bread and the wine—which are hallowed through the mass of the priests—appear one thing to human understandings without, and cry another thing to believing minds within. Without, they appear bread and wine, both in aspect and in taste; but they are truly, after the hallowing, Christ's body and his blood, through a ghostly mystery."[20] Ælfric then goes on to relate, a little afterwards: "That two monks prayed of God some manifestation concerning the holy housel, and, after prayer, assisted at mass. Then saw they a child lying on the altar at which the mass-priest was celebrating mass; and God's angel stood with a hand-knife, waiting until the priest should break the housel. The angel then dismembered the child in the dish, and poured its blood into the cup. Afterwards when they went to the housel, it was changed to bread and wine. The holy Gregory also obtained from Christ, that he would show to a doubting woman some great proof with reference to his mystery. She went to housel with doubtful mind, and Gregory straightways obtained, so that there appeared to them both the morsel of the housel that she should eat, as if there lay in the dish the (24) joint of a finger all bloody; and the woman's doubt was then rectified."[21] Further on, he observes :—

[20] *The Homilies of Ælfric*, Thorpe, ii. 269.

[21] *Ib.* 273.

"We have said to you, a little before, that Christ hallowed bread and wine, before his passion, for housel, and said: 'This is my body and my blood.' He had not yet suffered, but, nevertheless, he changed through invisible might, the bread to his own body, and the wine to his blood—as he had before done in the wilderness—before he was born as man, when he changed the heavenly meat to his flesh, and the flowing water, from the stone, to his own blood."[22]

Some Protestant writers strive to weaken this testimony, by trying to lay hold on some expressions of Ælfric's, and to make it seem that he had said that Christ is present in the Eucharist only in a figurative, not a real bodily way. Any one, however, who will read the whole of Ælfric's homilies, must allow, what he had in view was to teach the people that Christ's true, real, very body, given them in the housel or sacrament of the altar, was not there in the same state in which it existed on earth before his death; like what human flesh and blood are now; but as Christ's body at present exists in heaven, in a glorified state, like what the human flesh and blood of the saints will be hereafter, of which St. Paul says: "It is sown in dishonour; it shall rise in (25) glory. It is sown a natural body; it shall rise a spiritual

[22] *The Homilies of Ælfric*, Thorpe, ii. 275.

body" (1 Cor. xv. 43, 44), but not the less that true flesh and blood of this life. The meaning which Ælfric had in his mind, is more happily set forth in words by Archbishop Lanfranc, which are quoted a little later.

The forms of prayer used in the public services of any particular Church, will always afford the most trustworthy evidence regarding those doctrines which it held. Now, in looking through the several liturgies which have from the earliest times been employed in any part of Christendom—full as they are of passages teaching Transubstantiation—it would be hard to find, amid them all, stronger declarations of a thorough belief in that article of Catholic faith, than those which may be seen in the Ritual belonging to the Anglo-Saxons.

In the consecration of a newly-built church, as he blessed its altar, after making the sign of the cross, with oil upon it in the middle and at its four corners, the Anglo-Saxon prelate besought the Almighty "to sprinkle with the dew of heavenly unction, that stone which was prepared for the healthful mysteries of Redemption to be celebrated; to send down the gift of grace hallowing the sacrifice upon it, so that a hidden virtue might change into the body and blood of the Redeemer, and transcribe into the sacred victim of the Lamb, the creatures chosen for sacrifice upon it; that, as the word was made

flesh, so the nature of the oblation (26) being blessed, might go into the substance of the word." [23]

(27) Again, according to the Anglo-Saxon Pontifical, the priest, at his ordination, was to be told that he became enabled, and was authorised "to offer up oblations for the living and the dead; and

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[23] *Postea mittat oleum super altare in medio crucem faciens, et super quatuor angulos cum antiphona:*

Erexit Jacob lapidem in titulum fundens oleum. *Ps.* Quam dilecta.

Deus * * * hunc quoque lapidem salutaribus celebrandæ redemptionis mysteriis præparatum rore cælestis unguenti asperge et aromatibus divinæ sanctificationis perfunde, ac munus gratiæ consecrantis super illum sacrificia impone, digneque sic supra quod electas ad sacrificium creaturas *in Corpus et sanguinem Redemptoris virtus secreta convertat, et in sacras agni hostias invisibili mutatione transcribat, ut sicut verbum caro factum est, ita in verbi substantiam benedicta oblationis natura proficiat*, et quod prius fuerat alimonia vita hic efficiatur æterna.—*Ordo qualiter Domus Dei consecranda est; ex MS. Pontificali Anglicano monasterii Gemmeticensis annorum* 900, in Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.*, tom. ii. lib. ii. c. xiii. p. 251 (Bassani, 1788).

As Martene first published his inestimable work about A.D. 1699, this Pontifical must, by his calculation, have been written out towards A.D. 800. This "Ordo" is given in full by the late truly good and learned Catholic antiquary, Mr. John Gage Rokewode, in the twenty-fifth volume of the *Archæologia.*

With regard to the word "transcribere," it should be remembered that not only here, but in the writings of the best Latin authors, it is used to express our meaning in English of "to carry over into." Virgil, for instance, says: "Transcribunt urbi matres." The same belief in Transubstantiation is taught by the blessing which the Anglo-Saxon bishop gave at mass, to the people, on Maundy Thursday, as he said:—

Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus qui in hac die cum discipulis suis cœnans, panem in corpus suum, calicemque benedicens consecravit in sanguinem.—*Benedictio in Cœna Domini, Benedictionale S. Æthelwoldi*, 76. This very interesting monument of the Anglo-Saxon Church was first published in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv., and carefully edited by Mr. Gage Rokewode.

that for his own weal, and the weal of all the people, he was to transform, by an unspotted blessing, the body and the blood of the Son of God."[24] Hence, the Anglo-Saxon priesthood always understood (28) themselves to be gifted with the power of making the body and blood of Christ;[25] and of immolating that body and blood in the holy sacrifice of the mass.

By their ritual, therefore, the Anglo-Saxons were taught that the altar was hallowed and anointed for sacrifice to be offered up upon it; that that sacrifice was the celebration of the mysteries of Redemption; that the creatures (bread

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[24] Ad oblationes faciendas pro vivis et mortuis, et ut in salutem sui et totius plebis suæ, corpus et sanguinem filii Dei immaculata benedictione transformet.—*Pontificale Anglo-Saxonicum*, MS. 44 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge [*Pontif. Serv.* i. 95].

One of the earliest authorities in the Anglo-Saxon Church, Abp. Theodore, will let us know how a mass for the dead, in its ceremonies, differed from other masses:—

Missa pro mortuis in hoc differt a consueta missa, quod sine *Gloria*, et *Alleluia*, et pacis osculo, celebratur.—*Lib. pœnit*, c. xlv. (Thorpe, ii. 51).

Tu, Domine, super hunc famulum tuum illi, quem ad presbyteri honorem dedicamus manum tuæ benedictionis infunde . . . et per obsequium plebis tuæ Corpus et Sanguinem Filii tui immaculati transformet, &c.—*Egbert Pontifical* 23.

The same prayer, in the very same words—with the exception of "gratiam tuæ benedictionis infunde," instead of "manum, &c.," is given in two other Anglo-Saxon service-books, quoted by Martene (*ut sup.* Ordo ii. p. 40). It is also to be found in a Pontifical quoted by Morin, in his work *De Sacris Ecclesiæ Ordinationibus*, p. 261, and thought by that writer to be a manuscript written between A.D. 511 and A.D. 560.

[25] Such are the words, in his *Remains*, of the late Mr. Froude, while standing up for the like gift in behalf of the ministers in the Protestant Establishment · see also note [32] on p. 32.

and wine) chosen for sacrifice, were changed, transubstantiated, into the flesh and blood of Christ, by a hidden power intrusted to the priest at his ordination.

But that we may see how thoroughly our Anglo-Saxon forefathers agreed with the rest of the Catholic Church in their times, as well as now, and to convince ourselves that they were not out(29)done by any other people in the strength of language with which they gave utterance to their belief in the dogma of Transubstantiation, it will not be amiss to bring forward a few extracts from the liturgies, especially of western Christendom, that we may draw a parallel between them.

In the canon of the Mass for Maundy Thursday, the old Ambrosian rite says: "We, therefore, beseech Thee, O Lord, graciously to accept this oblation which we offer unto Thee, to be celebrated on account of the fast-day of the Lord's supper, at which our Lord Jesus Christ, thy son, did institute the rite of sacrificing, when He transformed into the sacrament of his own body and blood, bread and wine, which Melchisedech, the priest, had offered up in prefiguration of the future mystery." [26]

[26] Hanc igitur oblationem quam tibi offerimus ob diem jejunii Cœnæ Dominicæ in qua Dominus noster Jesus Christus Filius tuus in novo Testamento sacrificandi ritum instituit, dum *Panem et Vinum* quod Melchisedech in præfiguratione futuri mysterii sacerdos obtulerat, *in sacramentum sui corporis et sanguinis transformavit*, celebrandam, quæsumus Domine, placatus intende, &c.—*Canon*

The Gothic Missal thus addresses the people on the feast of the Epiphany: "With great solemnity,

Antiquus Missæ Ambrosianæ in Cœna Domini, in Muratori, *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* i. 131.

From the pains which St. Ambrose bestowed in improving the Liturgy, which he found in use throughout his diocese of Milan, it has ever since borne, in remembrance of him, the title of Ambrosian. The extracts given above so clearly show the belief of Milan in Transubstantiation, as to need no comment. Had any been necessary, it would have been found in the words of St. Ambrose himself, while treating elsewhere of this great mystery. In his treatise *De Fide*, he says: Nos autem quotiescumque sacramenta sumimus quæ per sacræ orationis mysterium in carnem transfigurantur et sanguinem, mortem Domini annuntiamus.—iv. 10, § 124.

While looking at this, and other such passages, brought forwards out of the old Liturgies, it must be kept in mind that the writers of the early Christian Church meant to convey by the word "Transfiguration," not one smallest tittle less than what is now wished to be understood by the term "Transubstantiation." In their mouths, and to their ears, the first of these expressions sounded precisely the same thing as the latter does among ourselves. Tertullian, who wrote towards A.D. 192, says: Transfiguratio autem interemptio est pristini. Omne enim quodcumque transfiguratur in aliud, desinit esse quod fuerat, et incipit esse quod non erat.—Tertullian, *Adversus Praxean*, xxvii.

That by the words "Transformation" and "Transfiguration," St. Ambrose wished to be understood as meaning the complete change of the bread and wine into the very body and blood of Christ, is put beyond contradiction when he says, in his instructions to neophytes, in his book on the *Mysteries:* Forte dicas; aliud video, quomodo tu mihi adseris quod Christi corpus accipiam? Et hoc nobis adhuc superest ut probemus. Quantis igitur utimur exemplis? Probemus non hoc esse quod natura formavit, sed quod benedictio consecravit; majoremque vim esse benedictionis quam naturæ; quia benedictione etiam natura ipsa mutatur. Virgam tenebat Moyses, projecit eam, et facta est serpens, &c.

Quod si tantum valuit humana benedictio ut naturam converteret; quid dicimus de ipsa consecratione divina ubi verba ipsa Domini Salvatoris operantur? Nam sacramentum istud quod accipis, Christi sermone conficitur. Quod si tantum valuit sermo Eliæ ut ignem de cœlo deponeret; non valebit Christi sermo, ut species mutet elementorum? De totius mundi operibus legisti: "Quia ipse dixit et facta sunt: ipse mandavit et creata sunt;"

let us honour, most dearly beloved brethren, the day of the Epiphany, begging with pious entreaty, (30) that he who then changed water into wine, may now turn the wine of our oblations into his own blood."[27] On the Assumption, the same Missal makes mention of the "corn turned into the body, (31) the chalice into the blood;"[28] and the Sunday mass puts these words into the mouth of the cele(32)brant: "O everlasting Majesty, let us beseech thee, with a devout mind, that we may take the bread, changed through the working of the divine virtue, into the flesh, the cup turned into the blood; and in the chalice receive that blood which flowed from thee on the cross out of thy side." A little later on, it is said: "O Lord Jesus Christ, we have eaten thy body, crucified for us, and we have drunk thy holy blood, which was shed for us."[29]

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sermo ergo Christi qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non potest ea quæ sunt, in id mutare quod non erant? Non enim minus est novas rebus dare quam mutare naturas.—*De Mysteriis*, ix. 50.

[27] Epiphaniæ diem . . . celebri sollemnitate, fratres carissimi, veneremur, pia obsecratione poscentes: ut qui tunc aquas in vina mutavit; nunc *in Sanguinem suum* oblationum nostrarum *vina convertat*, &c.—*Missa in Diem sanctum Epiphaniæ in Missali Gothico*, in Mabillon, *De Lit. Gallic.*, p. 208 [*P.L.* lxxii. 242].

[28] Descendat, Domine, in his sacrificiis tuæ benedictionis coeternus et cooperator Paraclitus Spiritus: ut oblationem quam tibi de tua terra fructificante porregimus, cælesti permuneratione, te sanctificante, sumamus: *ut translata fruge in corpore, calice in cruore*, proficiat meritis, quod obtulimus pro delictis.—*Missa in Assumptione in Missali Gothico*, *ibid.* p. 214 [246].

[29] Precamur mente devota, Te, Majestas æterna; ut operante

The old Gaulish Missal speaks of the bread and wine, which our Lord Jesus Christ transformed into the sacrament of his body and blood;[30] and the change of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ is likewise declared in the highly

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virtute, *panem mutatum in carne, poculum versum in sanguine*, illum sumamus in calice qui de te fluxit in cruce ex latere [317].

Domini Jesu Christe, *Corpus tuum pro nobis crucifixum edimus; et sanguinem sanctum tuum pro nobis effusum bibimus.* —*Ibid.*, p. 300 [318].

[30] Dominus noster Jesus Christus . . . panem ac vinum in sacramento sui corporis et sanguinis transformavit.—*Missale Gallicanum Vetus*, in Mabillon; *De Lit. Gal.*, p. 349 [357]. All these Liturgies fell into disuse in the reign of Charlemagne, and gave way to the Roman rite.

When the Church of Gaul in her Liturgy taught with such strong words the doctrine of Transubstantiation to her people, she was not the less mindful of laying before them the same belief, in language equally explicit, through the lips of her pastors. Of this we have an example in one of the sermons of St. Cæsarius of Arles, a successor of whom gave episcopal consecration to the apostle of the Anglo-Saxons, St. Austin. The Gaulish prelate says: Recedat ergo omne infidelitatis ambiguum: quandoquidem qui author est muneris, ipse etiam testis est veritatis. Nam invisibilis Sacerdos visibiles creaturas in substantiam corporis et sanguinis sui, verbi sui secreta potestate convertit, ita dicens: *Accipite et edite, hoc est corpus meum.* Et sanctificatione repetita: *Accipite et bibite, hic est sanguis meus.* Ergo ad nutum præcipientis Domini, repente ex nihilo substiterunt excelsa cœlorum, profunda fluctuum, vasta terrarum. Pari potentia in spiritualibus sacramentis verbi præcipit virtus et rei servit effectus. Quanta itaque celebranda beneficia vis divinæ benedictionis operetur; quomodo tibi novum et impossibile esse non debeat, quod in Christi substantiam terrena et mortalia commutantur teipsum qui jam in Christo es regeneratus, interroga. Quid autem mirum est si ea quæ verbo potuit creare, possit verbo creata convertere? Imo jam minoris videtur esse miraculi si id quod ex nihilo agnoscitur condidisse, jam conditum in melius mutare valeat.—S. Cæsarius Arelatensis, *Homilia* v., *De Paschate* [*P.L.* lxvii. 1053].

(33) valuable and very old "Short Exposition of the Liturgy."[31]

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[31] Panis vero in Corpore et vinum Transformatur in sanguine dicente Domino de corpore suo caro enim mea vere est cibus et sanguis meus vere est potus.—*Expositio Brevis Liturgiæ*, in Martene, *Thes. Anecd.* v. 95. In the opinion of Martene, this treatise was written in the sixth century: Medio sæculo sexto opus . . . scriptum fuisse existimamus.—*Ibid.*, p. 90.

To those whose knowledge of Latin extends no further than the works of the pagan classics, it should be observed that the early Christian writers were not strict in following the rules of syntax, as may be seen in any chapter of the Vulgate or Latin translation of the Holy Scriptures, and other early Christian monuments.

We ought not to wonder, therefore, that in the extracts above, from the old liturgies, the ablative case is often put instead of the accusative. Such a grammatical construction has been pointed out by the present Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, in his excellent edition of Beda's *Historia Eccl. Anglorum.* In a note on the passage "altare *in honore* beati papæ Gregorii dedicatum" (ii. 3, p. 81), after noticing, at the foot of the text, the amended reading "honorem"—which is found in some of the early prints of Beda's History, and in that lately given by Dr. Giles — Professor Hussey very pertinently remarks: *in honore*) Forma hæc est a scriptoribus medii ævi multum usitata, minime *in honorem* mutanda; conf. in Epist. Greg. *in obsequio commutari*, et *in esu occidant*, supra, i. 30: et in epitaphio, *vexit in arce poli*, infra v. 7: tum ipse Beda, *in corpore restitutus*, inf. iii. 19: *in honore dedicavit*, iii. 25: *veniens in civitate*, iv. 2: *in Rheno projecerunt*, v. 10; cujusmodi multa alia alibi invenienda sunt. He might have added, from the *Leofric Missal*, ingrediuntur diaconi in sacrario, &c., p. 96 (ed. Warren).

Cicero and Quintilian observed a habit which some Latin writers and speakers had, of dropping at the end of words certain consonants, especially the letters s and m. Quintilian says: *Die'* hanc *æque'* m litera in e mollita. Quæ in veteribus libris reperta mutare imperiti solent, et dum librariorum inscientiam insectari volunt, suam confitentur.—*Institutionis Oratoriæ*, ix. 4, § 39. The softening away of the letter m into the e going before it, is exemplified in the above passages from the Liturgies.

If the gentile rhetor were now to arise among us as a Catholic priest, teaching not merely those niceties of diction belonging to the pagan forum, but the belief held by the Christian Church in old imperial Rome, with what strength as well as beauty of speech,

(34) But to get back to our own country: bound up closely with the Christian faith, are certain ritual

would he not chastise the flippancy of some Protestants, who try to push aside such unanswerable proofs of Transubstantiation, by pretending, in their slight acquaintance with the ancient forms of language, that grammar forbids such a meaning?

But, while upon this subject, what words can be thought too harsh for rebuking that mawkishness of taste—nay, kind of madness—shown by some people for what is classic, though paganish in language, in preference to the homely but venerable modes of expression in our Latin Vulgate, our Missals, our Rituals, hymns, and prayers. Some of these ecclesiastical monuments are as old as Christianity itself; many are hallowed by having been in daily use among the martyrs, the pontiffs, the confessors, and doctors of the early Church; all are dear to us from the raciness of doctrinal and Catholic meaning which they have all about them. Yet a good priest, and that priest a member of a religious order, Father Maffei, did once exist, with such an overweening love for pagan Latinity, as to apply for and get leave from his ecclesiastical superior to celebrate mass and say his office in Greek, lest the Roman Missal and the Roman Breviary should spoil his taste for writing classic Latin! It is hard to deem which ought to be the more blamed—the want of reverential feeling in the classical professor which made him dare to ask, or the weakness of those who gave him, such a dispensation. Tiraboschi's record of the fact shall be accompanied by his criticism of it. Speaking of the unseemly lengths to which some men, at the revival of pagan literature, went in searching after what was thought classic language, that writer says: I misteri della religione (a spiegazione de' quali non potevansi certamente trovare negli antichi autori del secol d'oro le opportune espressioni) spiegavansi o con termini greci, o con lunghe parafrasi, e talvolta ancora con parole, che troppo sapevano del Gentilesimo, per essere adattate a' Cristiani. Una tale superstizione giunse perfino a far cambiare ad alcuni i natii lor nomi in altri, presi da' Latini, o da' Greci—E più oltre ancor giunse il P. Gianpietro Maffei Gesuita, se vero è ciò, che di lui si racconta, cioè, che per non contrarre punto di quella poco latina semplicità, con cui sono scritte le preci ecclesiastiche, ottenesse di usar nella Messa e nel divino ufficio la lingua Greca. Questo fu certamente un portare oltre i confini la premura di scrivere con eleganza.—Tiraboschi, *Storia della Let. Ital.* t. ii., Diss. Prelim. xxxvi. p. 28 (Napoli, 1777).

Had Father Maffei vouchsafed to bestow a little time upon the writings of the doctors of the Church, he would have found much to

(35) observances, which, together with the rest of the Church, the Anglo-Saxons were always mindful of (36) keeping. Among them as among ourselves, nothing was ever employed at the holy sacrifice, without (37) having been first set apart for the divine service by an appropriate blessing. But the whole drift of all such forms of prayer, shows how deeply rooted in the Anglo-Saxon mind was the belief in Transubstantiation. Over the new paten, the bishop said: "We consecrate and hallow this paten for the body of our Lord Jesus Christ to be made in it." [32] The corporal was meant, according to their teaching, "to cover and veil his body and blood;" [33] and, in blessing it, the celebrant

delight him, for the Christian eloquence and beauty of language in which they were dressed up; and from one of them—an illustrious countryman of our own—Beda, he might have learned the general character, and to churchmen individually, the no great use of pagan literature: Siliquæ quibus porcos pascebat sunt doctrinæ sæculares, sterili suavitate resonantes, de quibus laudes idolorum fabularumque ad deos gentium vario sermone atque carminibus percrepant, quibus dæmonia delectantur.—Beda, *in Lucæ Evang.* iv. 15 [*P.L.* xcii. 523].

[32] *Consecratio patenæ.*

Consecramus et sanctificamus hanc patenam ad conficiendum in ea corpus Domini nostri Jhesu Christi. — *Leofric Missal* (ed. Warren), 220.

[33] *Consecratio corporalis.*

Ad tegendum velandumque corpus et sanguinem filii tui Domini nostri Jhesu Christi.—*Leofric Missal*, 221.

Of these corporals, or large altar-cloths, Beda says: Nam et sepulchrum illud venerabile figuram Dominici habebat altaris, in quo carnis ejus ac sanguinis solent mysteria celebrari. Unde ecclesiastica (sc. lex?) tenet eadem mysteria, non in serico, non in panno tincto, sed instar sindonis, qua eum Joseph involvit, in linteo puro debere consecrari.—Beda, *In Lucæ Evang.*, vi. 24 [*P.L.* xcii. 623].

Anciently, the corporal-cloths were so large as to overspread the

prayed thus: "O God, (38) who didst allow Thy whole self to be wrapped by Joseph in a winding-sheet woven of linen, kindly take heed unto our words. We beseech, O Lord, that Thou wouldst vouchsafe to sanctify, bless, and hallow these corporals for the use of Thy altar, to consecrate upon them, or to cover aud wrap in them the body and blood of Thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ; and that they may be fitting for their high service, so that whatsoever shall be immolated according to the sacred rite upon them unto Thee, as Melchisedech offered up to Thee an acceptable holocaust which he had brought, so may our sacrifice become acceptable."[34]

whole altar, and so wide, that one side was brought over to veil the chalice and sacred host. This practice of covering the chalice with the corporal lasted for centuries after the Anglo-Saxon period, as our three etchings in illustration of the "fan" will show (see vol. iv.).

Among the Anglo-Saxons, as among ourselves, the corporal-cloth was carried and spread upon the altar, at high mass by the deacon, just before the offertory, and that minister underwent a penance if he forgot it:—

Diaconus obliviscens oblationem offerre sine lintheamine, XL dies pœniteat; quia in Evangelio scriptum est, quod Joseph corpus Domini in sindone munda involvit.—Theodore, *Lib. Pœnit.* c. xxxix., in Thorpe, ii. 48.

[34] *Oratio ad Corporale benedicendum.*

Deus qui . . . in sindone lino texta Joseph totum te involvi permisisti, respice propitius ad voces nostras. . . . Quæsumus Domine sanctificare, benedicere consecrareque digneris hæc corporalia in usum altaris tui, ad consecrandum super ea, sive ad tegendum involvendumque Corpus et Sanguinem filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi dignisque pareant famulatibus ut quicquid tibi sacro ritu super hæc immolabitur sicut Melchisedech oblatum holocaustum tibique acceptabile optulit, sic sacrificia nostra acceptabilia fiant.—

(39) But, of liturgical observances, there is one which—from having in all likelihood had its beginning (40) among the Anglo-Saxons—draws out into a strong light, the belief of that people in Transubstantiation, as well as in the Real Presence.

Living, as they did, on the uttermost bounds of Christendom, far away from the land of the early martyrs, though, whenever they went beyond the

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Ordo ad dedicandam Basilicam, in *Archæologia*, xxv. 29. [Cp. *Egb. Pont.* 44.]

This Anglo-Saxon ceremonial of the Dedication of Churches was edited by the late amiable John Gage Rokewode, Esq., from an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical, now in the public library at Rouen, No. 362. The Anglo-Saxon differed in nothing from the Roman form of blessing the corporals :—

Præfatio Linteaminum.

Domine Deus omnipotens . . . benedicere, consecrareque digneris hæc linteamina in usum altaris tui ad tegendum involvendumque Corpus et Sanguinem Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi : qui tecum vivit et regnat Deus.—*Sacram Rom. Ecc.*, in Thomasius, *Opera*, vi. 108 (Rome, 1751).

Their belief in Transubstantiation taught the Anglo-Saxons to look with the greatest respect even upon the linen spread over the altar, and to take care that the corporals especially should be washed in a vessel set apart for such an exclusive purpose. To this end, the subdeacon, at his ordination, was expressly told by his bishop : Pallæ vero quæ sunt in substratorio, in alio vase debent lavari, in alio corporales pallæ. Ubi pallæ corporales lavatæ fuerint, nullum linteamen aliud ibidem debet lavari, ipsa aqua in baptisterio debte vergi, &c.—*Egbert Pontifical*, p. 15. Cp. *Pontificale S. Dunstani*, in Martene, *De Antiq. Ecc. Rit.*, t. ii. lib. i. c. viii. art. xl. p. 58. Not only did they overspread the altar with the pall of linen, but within its folds they wrapped up a portion of the holy sacrifice of Christ's body, and carried it about with them :—

Dederat enim ei (S. Birino) Honorius Papa pallam, super quam corpus Christi consecrabat, et in qua corpus Dominicum involutum, et ad collum suspensum, semper secum ferebat, atque inter sacranda sacrosancta mysteria super sanctum altare ponere consuevit.—*S. Birini Vita*, in Surius, *Vit. Sanct.* (Dec. 3), vi. 687.

sea to Italy, or the east, they always strove to bring home some relics of the saints, yet it was not at all times easy for the Anglo-Saxon bishops to find at hand such hallowed treasures to deposit under the newly raised altar, or within the church just built, as ecclesiastical usage directed. In this dearth of relics, at a period when they were young as a Christian nation, and therefore could not boast of many home-born saints, what were the Anglo-Saxons, at the blessing of a new church or altar, (41) to do? Their unhalting faith soon taught them to seek in the Eucharist—what was far above the holiest saint's body, or the boldest martyr's blood—the body of the Saint of saints, of their Redeemer and their God himself, Christ Jesus. Hence sprang up among them a rite in the dedication of their churches, when the relics of saints could not be had, of enclosing our Lord's own body within the new altar. For it was enacted by the Council of Calchuth: "When a church is built, let it be hallowed by the bishop of the diocese. Afterwards, let the Eucharist the bishop consecrates at that service, be laid up, together with the other relics, and kept in the same church; and, if he cannot find any other relics, then will the Eucharist most of all serve, as it is the body and the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."[35] Indeed, so strong was their (42) trust

[35] Ubi ecclesia ædificatur a propriæ diocesis episcopo sanctificetur . . . Postea Eucharistia quæ ab episcopo per idem ministerium

in the lasting holiness of the Eucharist, that even when saints' relics could be found, they always enclosed three particles of the body of our Lord, together with the relics, beneath the altar-stone of the newly dedicated minster.[36]

Of itself, such a ritual practice would be enough to show how steadily the Anglo-Saxons believed in Transubstantiation. Had they held otherwise, that people never could have looked upon the Eucharist to be available as a relic for the consecration of a (43) church. What are saints' and martyrs' relics, but the bodily remains of those

consecratur, cum aliis reliquiis condatur in capsula, ac servetur in eadem basilica. Et si alias reliquias intimare non potest, tamen hoc maxime proficere potest quia Corpus et Sanguis est Domini nostri Jesu Christi.—*Synodus Calchuthensis* (A.D. 816), cap. ii. *De modo consecrandi ecclesias.* Wilkins, *Concilia* i. 169.

This liturgical practice, in use among the Anglo-Saxons, of thus putting the body of Christ instead of the body or a part of the body of a martyr or saint within the altar, lasted here in England up to the time of Lyndwood (A.D. 1446), who says: Ubi tamen non habenter reliquiæ, solent aliqui apponere Corpus Christi.—*Provinciale*, iii. 26, sub nota *m* (Oxoniæ, 1679, p. 249).

[36] Venientes autem ante altare et extenso velo inter eos et populum, facit episcopus crucem de sancto chrismate intus in confessione, in medio, ubi ponendæ sunt reliquiæ, et per quatuor angulos ipsius, &c. Deinde ponit tres portiones Corporis Domini intus in confessione, et tres de incenso, et recluduntur intus reliquiæ, &c.—*Egbert Pont.*, 45, 46.

The same rubric is to be found in another Anglo-Saxon Pontifical [Alet], written *c.* A.D. 800, kept, at Martene's time, in the monastery of Jumieges, in the diocese of Rouen, and quoted by him.—Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.*, t. ii. lib. ii. c. xiii. p. 254.

Si sunt autem reliquiæ ponantur honorifice sub confessione altaris, vel in loco condigno cum tribus portionibus Corporis Domini.—*Ex MS. Pontificali S. Dunstani archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, ibid.* p. 257.—This Pontifical is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

same holy beings—parts of their flesh, their blood, their bones? By employing, then, the Eucharist as a relic; by putting it instead of, or along with the relics of holy men and women, the Anglo-Saxons proclaimed the Eucharist to be, with regard to Christ, what saints' relics were to those saints; but saints' relics are their bodies. The Eucharist, then, with our Saxon forefathers, was no longer bread, but what had been bread now changed into, and become "the body and the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Nor was the witness of Heaven wanting to strengthen the belief of the Anglo-Saxons in the truths of this great mystery of Transubstantiation. It is well known that the Almighty has stooped to the longings of some among his holiest and most trusting servants who have dwelt within this island; and, to let them behold, whilst here below, with the eye of the flesh, the very living body and blood of his adorable Son, unhidden by the sacramental veils, has wrought the same wonder which, in his wisdom, he has vouchsafed to work, both before and since, in other parts of his one, true Church.

Bearing strongly upon this point, there is a record in our Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical history which ought to be set before the reader. There was, once, a certain very holy priest, of the name of Plecgils, who lived at a town now looked upon as within Scotland, and called Whitherne, in

(44) Galloway, where stood a church, in which lay buried the great St. Ninian, a bishop of the Britons towards the middle of the fifth century. Saying mass[37] very often at the body of this

[37] Nonnumquam vero ad votum desiderantibus Christum hæc præmonstrata leguntur, sicut illud in Gestis Anglorum quod quidam presbyter fuerit religiosus valde, Plecgils nomine, frequenter missarum solemnia celebrans ad corpus S. Niniæ episcopi et confessoris, qui cum digno moderamine sanctam, Christo propitio, duceret vitam, cœpit omnipotentem Deum piis pulsare precibus, ut sibi monstraret naturam corporis Christi atque sanguinis. Itaque non ex infidelitate, ut adsolet, sed ex pietate mentis ista petivit; fuerat enim a puero divinis legibus imbutus et propter amorem superni regis olim patriæ fines et dulcia liquerat arva, ut Christi mysteria exul sedule disceret. Idcirco ejus amore magis succensus, quotidie pretiosa munera offerens, poscebat sibi præmonstrari quæ foret species latitans sub forma panis et vini, non quia de Christi corpore dubius esset, sed quia vel sic Christum cernere vellet, quem nemo mortalium jam super astra levatum in terris passim conspicere potest. Venerat ergo dies ut idem celebrans pie solemnia missarum more solito procubuit genibus: "Te deprecor," inquit, "omnipotens, pande mihi exiguo in hoc mysterio naturam corporis Christi, ut mihi liceat eum prospicere præsentem corporeo visu, et formam pueri, quem olim sinus matris tulit vagientem, nunc manibus contrectare": qui dum talia precaretur, angelus de cœlo veniens affatur: "Surge," inquit, "propere, si Christum videre placet, adest præsens corporeo vestitus amictu, quem sacra puerpera gessit." Tunc venerabilis presbyter pavidus ab imo vultum erigens, vidit super aram Patris Filium puerum, quem Simeon infantem portare suis ulnis promeruerat. Cui angelus inquit: "Quia Christum placuit, quem prius sub specie panis verbis mysticis sacrare solebas, nunc oculis inspice, attrecta manibus." Tum sacerdos cœlesti munere fretus, quod mirum dictu est, ulnis trementibus puerum accepit, et pectus proprium Christi pectori junxit; deinde profusus in amplexum, dat oscula Deo, et suis labiis pressit pia labia Christi. Quibus ita exactis, præclara Dei Filii membra restituit in vertice altaris, et replevit cœlesti pabulo Christi mensam. Tum rursus humo prostratus deprecatus est Deum, ut dignaretur ipse iterum verti in pristinam speciem; qua expleta oratione, surgens a terra, invenit corpus Christi in formam remeasse priorem uti deprecatus fuerat; et mira omnipotentis Dei dispensatio! qui ob unius desiderium, ita præbere dignatus est visibilem, et non in figuram

saintly prelate, (45) Plecgils strove his best to lead, by Christ's help, a good life. At length he began to beseech, with (46) love-breathing prayer, all-powerful God that he would deign to show him the nature of Christ's body (47) and

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agni ut aliis quibusque sub hoc mysterio, sed in formam pueri, quatenus et veritas patesceret in ostenso, et sacerdotis desiderium impletur ex miraculo, nostraque fides firmatur ex relatu. Veruntamen non prius idem communicasse pueri corpus et sanguinem legitur, quam rediret in prioris formæ speciem ne absurdum videretur quod præsumserat et fides uberius requiratur interius in eodem quod exterius visu conspexerat.—Paschasius Radbertus, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, xiv. 5 [*P.L.* cxx. 1319].

Of these "Gesta Anglorum," or Acts of the English, some MSS., it is to be feared, are lost, while others—and we should blush as we own it—are still left to slumber, forgotten or slighted, on the shelves of our own and foreign libraries.

With reference to the miracle noticed above, we learn from our own Alcuin, that the monks of St. Ninian's had sent him an account, written in verse by one of themselves, of the miracles that had been wrought at the tomb of that British saint :—

Deprecor vestræ pietatis unanimitatem ut nostri nominis habeatis memoriam et intercedere pro mea parvitate dignemini in ecclesia sanctissimi patris Niniæ episcopi, qui multis claruit virtutibus, sicut mihi nuper delatum est per carmina metricæ artis, quæ nobis per fideles nostros discipulos Eboracensis ecclesiæ scholasticos directa sunt, in quibus et facientis agnovi eruditionem, et ejus perficientis miracula sanctitatem per ea quæ ibi legebam.—Alcuin, *Epist. ad Fratres S. Niniani Candidæ Casæ*, i. 297 [*P.L.* c. 511].

Though sought for by the learned, no one has, hitherto, been able to find this poem, in which, very likely, mention was made of the miraculous appearance of our Lord in the adorable Eucharist to Plecgils, of whom it is especially observed : "frequenter missarum solemnia celebrans ad corpus S. Niniæ." Bearing in mind how very high Alcuin stood at the court of Charlemagne, and what great weight his opinion had on literary matters, it is probable that the poem which the scholars of York took to him from the monks of St. Ninian's, was soon copied, and transcripts of it sent to the most celebrated monasteries of France, of which one of the first was Corbie, where Paschasius Radbertus wrote his book, a few years only after Alcuin's death.

blood. It was not out of unbelief, as is wont, but from a godliness of mind that he sought this; for upwards from his boyhood he had been filled with the divine law; and through love for his heavenly king, he had formerly forsaken the sweets of his home, and his country, to learn, in exile, the mysteries of Christ, with the greatest exactness. Wherefore, more and more enkindled with his love, and daily offering up the precious gifts, he besought it might be foreshown him what was the sight lying hidden under the shape of bread and wine; not that he was doubtful about Christ's body, but because he so longed to behold Christ, whom, as he is now raised beyond the stars, no mortal man may light upon, here and there about the earth. One day, going piously through the solemnities of the mass, Plecgils, as was his wont, fell down upon his knees and said: "O Almighty! I beseech Thee to show unto my littleness the nature of Christ's body in the mystery, so that it may be allowed me to gaze upon him present before my bodily sight, and with my hands to handle the form of the child as his mother carried him about whimpering upon her breast." While he was breathing forth such a prayer, an angel, coming down from heaven, spoke to him and said: "Arise! make haste, if it liketh thee to behold Christ: he is here present, clothed with the flesh that his sacred mother bore in child-birth." Then this venerable priest, affrighted, upturning his face, beheld on the altar the Son of

(48) the Father, the boy whom, as a babe, Simeon deserved to carry in his arms. Then spoke the angel to him: "Because so willeth Christ, now look upon with thine eyes, feel with thy hands, him whom before thou usedth to consecrate by mystic words, under the outward appearance of bread." Then this priest, relying upon the heavenly favour, wonderful to say, took the child into his trembling arms, and joined his own breast to the breast of Christ; and, locking him in a warm embrace, kisses God, and pressed the godly lips of Christ to his own lips. After doing this, he put back the bright limbs of the Son of God on the top of the altar, and filled Christ's board with heavenly food. Then, casting himself again upon the earth, he besought God that he would, once more, deign to be turned into the former outward appearance. At the end of his supplication, on getting up from the ground, he finds that the body of Christ has gone back into its prior form, as he had begged, and, wonderful dispensation of God all-powerful! who vouchsafed at one man's craving to show himself so as to be seen, and not in the figure of a lamb—as unto some others under this mystery—but in the form of a child; in such a way that the truth should be laid open in what was shown, the longings of the priest should be fulfilled through the miracle, and our belief strengthened by the narrative of it. Nevertheless, we read that he did not take, in the communion, this same body

(49) and blood of the child,[38] until it had gone back to the outward appearance of its first form, lest what (50) he had presumed to do, should seem absurd, and lest there be looked for more abundant faith within about that same thing which outwardly he had beheld by sight.[39]

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[38] Some, perhaps, may ask how it happened that Christ was pleased to look, in this manifestation of himself, not as in his full-grown manhood, but as a little child. In all reverence, we may soon find a reason. Since Christ's body, in the Eucharist, is the very self-same which he took from his mother's virgin womb, and was nailed for us upon the cross,—whether, therefore, he showed himself as a grown-up man or a little infant, was immaterial: he did show himself in his true, his living flesh. The first time the eyes of his creatures beheld the "Word made flesh," it was as a new-born babe: at the consecration, when the Holy Ghost, through the lips of the priest, changes bread into the very body of Christ our Lord, a kind of mystic birth as it were, to the pious mind, then takes place; and, yielding to such feelings, the Church in the east, even to this day—and I can vouch for Greece, having myself seen it there—paints upon the wall behind where the altar stands, the Eucharist lying on the sacred disk, not as a particle of bread, but as a little boy; and, in olden times—both here in England, and abroad throughout the Latin rite—often were to be seen written upon the silver plate, or paten for putting under the Eucharist, those words from Holy Writ (Isaias ix. 6), "a child is born to us," sung as the introit to the first or midnight-mass, at Christmas; and Cicognara instances a paten so inscribed: La patena di un calice ove al centro nella grandezza dell' Ostia è riportato un niello colla nascita del Redentore, e d'intorno è lo scritto, *Parvulus Filius hodie natus est nobis, et vocabitur Deus fortis.—Memorie della Calcografia*, p. 105.—This is another proof of a belief in Transubstantiation.

[39] Among our ancient ecclesiastical traditions, there is one which connects the hero of the British period of our history, the far-famed Arthur—who was as religious as he was brave—with just such a vision of our Divine Redeemer in the mass. It is thus told by John of Glastonbury: Senex incepit se vestibus sacerdotalibus induere, et statim affuit beata Domini mater gloriosa, filium suum in ulnis bajulans, et cœpit ministrare prædicto seni. At ubi incepit dictus senex missam, et venit usque ad offertorium, statim benigna Domina filium sacerdoti obtulit. Sacerdos, vero, eum collocavit super

(51) Such is the remarkable testimony concerning Anglo-Saxon belief in Transubstantiation, fur-

corporale, juxta calicem. Cum autem pervenisset ad immolacionem hostiæ, id est, ad verba Dominica, "*Hoc est enim corpus meum*," elevavit eundem puerum in manibus suis. Rex, vero, Arthurus stans ad sacramentum illud Dominicum, immo vere ipsum Dominum suppliciter adorabat. Senex, immolato puero, posuit eum loco quo prius. Cum enim pervenisset ad hostiæ percepcionem, eundem puerum Dei filium assumpsit, percepit, masticavit secundum ejusdem Domini institutum dicentis, "*Accipite, et manducate.*" Ipso percepto et communione facta, apparuit loco quo prius sedens illæsus et integer ille agnus paschalis absque omni macula.—*Chronica Johannis Glastoniensis*, ed. Hearne, i. 79.

I much suspect this holy old man is no other than Plecgils, and that John of Glastonbury tells us the same miracle under another version of his own, with however this fresh information—that King Arthur happened to be in the church hearing mass at the time. Was Plecgils a British priest, and on leaving home did he go —a common thing in those days—to Ireland, and learn the truths of religion? I think so. If this guess be right, then will the vision of Plecgils become a most important illustration of the belief on the Eucharist held by the early British and Irish Churches; while it will still keep its weight as a testimony for the Anglo-Saxons, who, in bringing it forwards to the eyes of their countrymen by the approving way in which they put it on record, show that they themselves believed, and taught, every one of the doctrines blended with this miracle.

This, as well as another like miracle, seems to have taken very fast hold on the mind of the English people, as we often find both of them noticed in our national ecclesiastical monuments.

The vision, in which the apostle of the Saxon English, Pope St. Gregory, was given to behold Christ's flesh in the sacrament, is related by both his biographers, Paulus Diaconus (*Vita S. Greg.*, c. xxiii.) [*P. L.* lxxv. 52], and by Johannes Diaconus (c. xli. [*Ibid.* 108]); and the latter, who wrote about A.D. 875, particularly tells his readers that it was one among the miracles of that pontiff read in the English Church; for he begins his recital of it with this remark: "Quæ autem de Gregorii miraculis penes easdem Anglorum ecclesias vulgo leguntur omittenda non arbitror." From the account of Paulus Diaconus, we gather that as St. Gregory was once giving the holy communion, at mass, to the people, he found that a Roman lady, by her smiling at the words "the body of Christ," applied to the sacrament, had doubts of Transubstantiation. Upon

THE MASS OF ST. GREGORY

Sarum Missal, 1555

nished (52) by Paschasius Radbertus, a writer of the ninth century. To get beyond reach of the

this, the pontiff withheld the outstretched particle from this matron, and carried it to the altar, whereon he laid it. Then, begging all the people to join with him in entreating that God would show to the eyes of the flesh what this woman ought to have beheld with the eye of faith, he threw himself upon his knees and prayed. On arising, and lifting up the corporal, or linen cloth which had been spread over the particle of the sacrament, there was to be seen by every one present, a part of a human finger trickling with blood. After telling this lady that God, by the power with which he wrought all things out of nothing, changes bread and wine into flesh and blood through the prayers of the Catholic Church, St. Gregory besought that the sacrament might take its usual shape and look; which it did, and was then administered to this same woman:—

Mulieri dixit (S. Gregorius Papa): Disce, inquam, veritati vel modo jam credere contestanti: panis, quem ego do, caro mea est; et sanguis meus vere est potus. Sed præscius conditor noster infirmitatis nostræ, ea potestate qua cuncta fecit ex nihilo, et corpus sibi ex carne beatissimæ virginis Mariæ, operante sancto Spiritu, fabricavit, panem et vinum aqua mixtum, manente propria specie, in carnem et sanguinem suum, ad catholicam precem, ob reperationem nostram, Spiritus sui sanctificatione convertit.—*Vita S. Gregorii Papæ*, a Paulo Diacono, circa A.D. 757, *ut sup.*

This miracle may often be met with figured in old English churches, but especially in our Salisbury missals, under the representation of Christ with all the instruments of his passion about him, on an altar whereon he is seen standing three parts out of his grave, crowned with thorns, and showing his wounded hands to Pope St. Gregory and his deacon and subdeacon, all three kneeling at the foot of the altar; while, amid the crowd behind them, one is found carrying the pontifical tiara, and another holding the papal or triple cross. From its dolefulness, this representation was known among our Catholic forefathers as "St. Gregory's pity"; and is given in a wood-cut before the first Sunday of Advent in the folio Sarum Missal, printed A.D. 1555, at Paris, by J. Amazeur, for G. Merlin, of which I have a fine copy [see p. 44].

[Another wood-cut of the Mass of St. Gregory is added here (p. 46) from a little Flemish volume which is the original of the book cited in a French version by Dr. Rock as *L'Interprétation de la Messe* (see below), and contains the same set of wood-cuts with some slight variation.]

bekēs Eñ ghi ɒdiēt.xlvi.dul ēt iaer aflaets
O here ihesu xpe.ic aēbede di hāgende
inden cruce.eñ een doernē crone op
ɒ hoeft dragēde Ic bidde di dat dō cruce mi

MASS OF ST. GREGORY

(From *Dat Boexken vander Missen*, fol. g. viiv.)

argument (53) drawn from this passage in the life of Plecgils, it will not do to say that the miracle itself is unworthy (54) of credit, a mere fiction. Whether it be so or not, is quite beside the

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The vision of Plecgils is figured in the large folio Gradual of Salisbury, printed at Paris A.D. 1532, by F. Regnault, of which a copy now lies before me. In a large wood-cut at the head of the first Sunday of Advent, the priest Plecgils is represented kneeling before an altar, and holding uplifted above his head, in both hands, a little naked boy, upon whom he and a crowd of worshippers are gazing with eyes beaming with fondest love.

[Dr. Rock is clearly in error in his description of the wood-cut given at the beginning of the *Sarum Gradual*, which is reproduced now on page 48. It has no reference to Plecgils and no reference to any miracle of the Blessed Sacrament. It is a symbolical representation of the opening words of the *Gradual*, viz. the Introit for the First Sunday in Advent, *Ad te levavi animam meam*, taken from Psalm xxiv. 1 ; and it shows the priest uplifting to God the conventional symbol for the soul. The scene represented is certainly at the opening of the Mass, for the Mass-book has not yet been shifted to the north side, and this in itself, were the type of picture not so well known as it is, would shew the mistake.]

In our later ecclesiastical annals, we find recorded other instances of the bodily appearance of Christ to various saints of this island, in the sacrament of the altar.

Of St. Odo, who died Archbishop of Canterbury A.D. 961, we are told by Osbern, a writer of the end of the eleventh century (A.D. 1070) : "hoc ferme tempore quidam clerici, maligno errore seducti asseverare conabantur panem et vinum quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem in priori substantia permanere, et figuram tantummodo esse corporis et sanguinis Christi, non verum Christi corpus et sanguinem. Quorum enormem perfidiam beatus Odo destruere cupiens, dum quadam die in conspectu totius populi sacrosanctis Missarum solemniis devotus intenderet, expressis lacrymis Dei omnipotentis clementiam in suo ministerio ad fore postulavit. . . . Cumque ad confractionem vivifici panis ventum fuisset . . . confestim namque inter manus pontificis, fragmenta corporis Christi tenentis, sanguis guttatim defluere cœpit" [Osbern, *Vita S. Odonis*, *P.L.* cxxxiii. 939].

Of the Archbishop of York, St. Oswald, Eadmer tells us : Idem

Sarum Gradual, 1532

present inquiry; what we have (55) to keep in sight, is the doctrinal question bound up along with it.

pater (S. Oswaldus archiepiscopus Eboracensis, A.D. 992) dum quadam vice sacrum mysterium altari præsens administraret; corpus Dominicum inter manus ejus cruentum et sanguinem distillans in calicem apparuit. Ex quo intuentium mentibus nimio pavore percussis, mox ad preces pontificis in consuetam sui formam restitutum est.—*Vita S. Oswaldi*, in Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 193.

Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx, Yorkshire, A.D. 1150, in his life of King Edward the Confessor, has a chapter headed, "Quomodo super altare Jesum Christum in sacramento cum quodam comite vidit" [*P.L.* cxcv. 760]. St. Waltheof, Abbot of Mailross, A.D. 1160, is said (*AA. SS. Augt.* i. 255) to have been favoured with such a vision whilst he was saying mass, as well as St. Godrick, the ancret of Finchale.—*AA. SS. Maii.* v. 82. In the life of St. Hugh of Lincoln, who died A.D. 1200, it is recorded of him: "Crebro pius Dominus in forma speciosissimi pueruli sacrificanti illi visibiliter apparere dignatus est;" and again, concerning a priest: "celebrans ille missarum solemnia . . . cumque ad illum venisset locum ubi hostia frangenda erat, sanguis protinus emanavit."—Surius, vi. 399.

Of our St. Wulfric we read: Tunc homo, viribus resumptis, corpus Domini a Sancto Wulfrico sibi oblatum in specie carnis conspexit, et interrogatus, si ex toto corde crederet, "Credo domine," inquit, "quia corpus et sanguinem Domini mei in manibus tuis sub specie carnis video ego miser et peccator;" cui vir sanctus, "Deo gratias," inquit; "nunc simul oremus ut in specie consueta illud percipere merearis;" sicque communicatum hominem et in fide confirmatum dimisit in pace.—Roger de Wendover, *Flores Historiarum* (*R.S.* lxxxiv. 9).

But the Almighty has vouchsafed such manifestations from the earliest ages and in all parts of the Church.

St. Cyprian relates (A.D. 251), several miraculous punishments which he himself had seen inflicted on the wicked who had dared to profane the blessed Eucharist. Of one unworthy woman he tells us: "Et cum quadam arcam suam in qua Domini sanctum fuit, manibus indignis tentasset aperire, igne inde surgente deterrita est, ne auderet attingere" [*De lapsis* 26 (Hartel, i. 256)]. Again, "alius qui et ipse maculatus, sacrificio a sacerdote celebrato, partem cum ceteris ausus est latenter accipere, sanctum Domini edere et contrectare non potuit; cinerem ferre se apertis manibus invenit."

St. Arsenius (A.D. 430) mentions that an old man who had

Now, unless it had been well (56) known to the whole world at the time, that the Anglo-Saxons taught and believed the dogma of (57) Transubstantiation, a miracle in its behalf would never have

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doubts about the real presence, was allowed to behold Christ's flesh in the Sacrament: Et cum extendisset presbyter manus, ut frangeret panem, descendit angelus Domini de cœlo habens cultrum in manu, et secavit puerulum illum, sanguinem vero excipiebat in calice. Cum autem presbyter frangeret in partibus parvis panem, etiam et angelus incidebat pueri membra in modicis partibus. Cum autem accessisset senex, ut acciperet sanctam communionem, data est ipsi soli caro sanguine cruentata.—Rosweyd, *De Vitis Patrum*, V. xviii. 3, p. 636 [*P.L.* lxxiii. 979].

St. Gregory of Tours (A.D. 573) gives a very interesting account of a poor little Jew-boy miraculously preserved from the flames of a furnace, into which he had been thrown by his ruthless father for having gone, along with some Christian playmates, to mass, and eaten of the blessed Eucharist. Quadam die dum missarum festa in basilica beatæ Mariæ celebrarentur, ad participationem gloriosi corporis et sanguinis Dominici cum aliis infantibus infans Judæus accessit. Quo sancto assumto, gaudens ad domum patris revertitur. . . . Interrogantes autem infantulum Christiani, quale ei inter ignes fuisset umbraculum, ait: Mulier quæ in basilica illa, ubi panem de mensa accepi, in cathedra residens, parvulum in sinu gestat infantem, hæc me pallio suo, ne ignis voraret, operuit. Unde indubitatum est, beatam ei Mariam apparuisse.—*De Gloria Mart.*, I. x. pp. 732, 733, ed. Ruinart [*P.L.* lxxi. 714]. It should not be overlooked that St. Gregory mentions communion under one kind in the above passage: "quo sancto assumto," and "panem de mensa accepi"; and gives us to understand that the image of the blessed Virgin Mary was then set up in churches. This miracle is stated in the Greek life of St. Mena, Patriarch of Constantinople in the *AA. SS. Aug.*, v. 170; and by Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 36.

Zelotypa quædam mulier habens virum ex adulterii fraude suspectum, qualiter eum sibi vindicare posset proprio toro contentum, a vicina petiit muliere consilium. Quæ nimirum perversa, et ultricibus flammis evidenter obnoxia, hoc eam sacrilegium venenata serpentis antiqui suadela perdocuit, ut Corpus Dominicum . . . non sine quibusdam maleficiis propinaret. Quod videlicet a sacerdote perceptum, et usquedum occasio præberetur, palliolo reservatum, non sine magno dedit stupore miraculum. Hæc enim

been so boldly and fearlessly brought forward from their ecclesiastical records, by one who lived such a short distance from their shores, and who must have been well aware that his opponents would have felt but too happy in pouncing upon a falsehood, and showing up his recklessness, had he fallen into either.

In the writings of those who followed the Anglo-Saxons in the office of teaching the Gospel to the (58) people of this country, we find Transubstantiation laid down in the same clear language.

To an Archbishop of Canterbury, to Lanfranc, A.D. 1079, was allotted by Heaven the overthrow of Berengarius, the first man who withstood the truth of this deep mystery. Without having anything new about them, Lanfranc's words, in upholding Transubstantiation, are as well-chosen and comprehensive, as they are sound and orthodox. While they correctly put forth the Church's doctrine, they at the same time afford a key to the true meaning of some writers' expressions which

particula Dominici Corporis inventa est usque ad medietatem in carnem esse conversam : altera vero medietas panis speciem non mutavit.—B. Petrus Damianus, *Tractatus* [*P.L.* cxlv. 572, 573].

Nam et vester ille finitimus piæ recordationis Amalphytanus episcopus (nomen nescio) Stephano Romano Pontifici, me præsente, sub jurejurando sæpe testatus est qui cum aliquando ad mensam Domini sacrificaturus accederet, sed super sacramento Dominici Corporis incredulus hæsitaret in ipsa confractione salutaris hostiæ, rubra prorsus ac perfecta caro inter ejus manus apparuit, ita ut etiam digitos illius cruentaret [*Ibid.*, 573].

have been misunderstood. "We hold," writes Lanfranc to Berengarius, "that the earthly substances which are divinely sanctified at the Lord's table through the priestly ministration, become unspeakably, incomprehensibly, wonderfully changed, by the working of a power from on high, into the essence of the body of our Lord, keeping the outward look of those things, and certain other qualities, lest beholding what was raw and blood-red, people might be aghast; and that believers might get a larger reward for their faith, the body of our Lord nevertheless existing in heaven inviolate, whole, uncontaminate, unhurt, at the right hand of the immortal Father; so that it may be truly said both that we do receive that very body which was taken of the Virgin, and we do not receive it; we do receive that very body as to the essence, property, and virtue of its true nature; (59) we do not receive it if you regard the outward look of bread and wine, and the other things mentioned above."[40]

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[40] Credimus igitur terrenas substantias, quæ in mensa Dominica per sacerdotale ministerium divinitus sanctificantur, ineffabiliter, incomprehensibiliter, mirabiliter operante superna potentia, converti in essentiam Domini corporis, reservatis ipsarum rerum speciebus, et quibusdam aliis qualitatibus, ne percipientes cruda et cruenta horrerent: et ut credentes fidei præmia ampliora perciperent ipso tamen Dominico corpore existente in cœlestibus ad dexteram Patris immortali inviolato, integro, incontaminato, illæso, ut vere dici posset et ipsum corpus quod de Virgine sumptum est, nos sumere et tamen non ipsum: ipsum quidem quantum ad essentiam veræque naturæ proprietatem, atque virtutem: non ipsum autem, si spectes panis vinique speciem, cæteraque superius

Our own Robert Pulleyne, A.D. 1144, after having taught divinity with such applause at Paris, came home again to rekindle a love for study at Oxford, and was the first Englishman raised to the cardinalate, dying chancellor of the Apostolic see. (60) This learned countryman of ours says :[41] "The Lord, by the strength of his blessing, both through himself and his ministers, turns bread into his own body, and wine into his own blood, so that neither bread nor wine remains what it was before, but passes into another nature, the bread into the flesh, the wine into the blood. Certainly not into any other nature than that which he carried up to heaven for us. Nor is the blood into which the wine is changed, any other than that which trickled down from his side, and which now abides in his flesh."

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comprehensa. Hanc fidem tenuit a priscis temporibus, et nunc tenet Ecclesia, quæ per totum diffusa orbem Catholica nominatur.—*De Corp. et Sang.*, xviii. [*P.L.* cl. 430].

Berengarius, against whom this able work was written, recanted his errors, and retired to the city of Tours, near where he lies buried in the Church of St. Cosmas, and up to a late period, the clergy of St. Martin's, during the procession which they used to make to St. Cosmas in Easter week every year, went to his grave, and sang a *De profundis* over it.—De Moleon, *Voy. Liturg.*, p. 130.

[41] Dominus virtute benedictionis suæ, et per se, et per ministros, panem in corpus suum, vinumque in sanguinem suum convertit ita ut neque panis neque vinum, id quod ante erat remaneat, verum in alteram transeat naturam ; panis in carnem, vinum in sanguinem. Non utique in aliam, nisi in illam quam pro nobis cœlis invexit. Neque alius est sanguis in quem vinum transit, nisi ille qui manavit de latere, quique adhuc Christi manet in carne.—Robertus Pullus, *Sententiarum*, viii. 5 [*P.L.* clxxxvi. 965].

Besides a cloud of witnesses who might be brought forward to tell what was the belief of the Catholic Church in England, after the Anglo-Saxons, upon this article of faith, it will be enough to refer to what has been said upon such a point by two other English writers, John of Cornwall,[42] (61) and Gilbert of Hoyland,[43] both of whom lived

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[42] Tria apponimus, panem, vinum, et aquam . . . quia inter omnia humanæ vitæ sustentandæ necessaria, hæc tria sunt mundiora et utiliora et magis necessaria ; propterea potius debuerunt apponi quam alia, et in id quod mundius est et utilius omnibus, et super omnia ad vitam æternam capessendam magis necessarium, transferri et transformari, id est in corpus Christi et sanguinem.—Johannes Cornubiensis (A.D. 1170), *De Canone Myst. Libam.* ij., sub nomine *Hugonis a S. Victore*, Hittorp, p. 1426 [*P.L.* clxxvii. 459].

Quæ benedicenda sunt in verum et summum sacrificium transformantur, id est, in verum corpus et sanguinem Christi.—*Ibid.*, v. p. 1428 ; Cp. Ceillier, *Histoire*, xiv. 29, p. 358.

Along with John of Cornwall may be joined Peter of Blois, the scholar of John of Salisbury, and afterwards Archdeacon of Bath. He says : Corpus Domini conficiunt (sacerdotes), sumunt, sumendum aliis tribuunt. Eorum ministerio panis et vinum in carnem Christi transubstantiatur. Magna debet eorum sanctitas esse, quorum dignitas in tam sanctis habet efficaciam.—Petrus Blesensis, Barthoniensis Archidiac. (fl. c. 1198), Serm. xxxviii., *in Sinod. Bib. Pat.*, tom. xii. par. ii. p. 897.

[43] Quid magis novum, quam quod in mysterio Dominici corporis mutatur materies, et species servatur? Pristina manet forma, sed nova gratia quia nova substantia. Nova quidem non in se, sed in hujusmodi specie. Novum plane quod carnis Dominicæ substantia, in aliena specie sumpta, sanctificationis virtutem animæ confert et spiritualem emundat substantiam in mysterio altaris immaculata caro. Novum quidem et supra reliquorum usum sacramentorum, quod non modo sanctificationis nova gratia datur, sed substantia naturalis mutatur. Nam per sacramenti benedictionem accipit oblatus panis hanc ineffabilem mutationem, et ex mystica consecratione et Verbi viventis copulatione, hæc vivificatrix gratia in carnem Christi redundans.—Gilbert of Hoyland (A.D. 1170), *Sermo vij. in Cantic.*, in Ceillier, *Histoire des Auteurs Sacrés*, xiv. 37, p. 453 [490] [*P.L.* clxxxiv. 11].

but a few years after Cardinal Pulleyne. This same (62) doctrine was affirmed by our national synods, especially by the one held at Oxford under Archbishop Langton.[44]

(63) Thus do we behold the authoritative teaching, the writings, the ceremonial, the liturgical (64) practices, the history, everything in fine belonging to the Anglo-Saxon Church, all unite in

[44] Frequentur moneantur laici, ut ubicunque videant corpus Domini deferri, statim genua flectant tanquam creatori et redemptori suo, et junctis manibus, quousque transierit, orent humiliter, et hoc maxime fiat tempore consecrationis in elevatione hostiæ, quum panis in verum corpus Christi transformatur, et id quod est in calice, in sui sanguinem transformatur.—*Concil. Oxon.* (A.D. MCCXXII.) in Wilkins, *Concil.* i. 594.

In Catholic England the people had been taught to believe that the change of the elements was wrought, at mass, by the words of Institution, which the priest says at the consecration. This we learn from St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, who says: Sed secundum diffinitiones sanctorum patrum, est intelligendum panem super altare positum per illa solemnia verba in corpus Christi mutari, nec remanere substantiam panis et vini, speciem tamen intelligendum est remanere; formam scilicet, colorem, et saporem.—St. Anselm, *Epistolæ*, lib. iv. epist. cvii. p. 453 [*P.L.* clix. 255]. Furthermore, one of our national synods, that held A.D. 1287, at Exeter, puts forth the same doctrine in one of its canons, thus: Quia vero per hæc verba, "Hoc est enim corpus meum," et non per alia, panis transubstantiatur in corpus (Christi) prius hostiam non levet sacerdos, donec ipsa plene protulerit (verba) ne pro creatore, creatura a populo veneratur.—*Synodus Exoniensis*, in Wilkins, *Concil.* ii. 132.

That this continued to be the belief of the English people, we gather from what is meant as a sneer by the scoffing author of a new dialogue, called *The Enlightment againste Mother Messe*, who writes (sig. a. v.), "She (mother messe) saith she can, with five words, make both god and man."

Notwithstanding all the blasphemies poured out against "mother messe" by apostatising foreigners abroad, and their English scholars here at home, the great bulk of the population in this country remained her steadfast children, and could not be led to forsake

showing how (65) thoroughly that people believed in the Catholic dogma of Transubstantiation.

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her. By an unknown poet, whose doggerels were printed by Day, in Elizabeth's reign, it is remarked :

> " For al it be so bad,
> The people be as mad,
> As ever they may be,
> The messe to here and se."

The upcheringe of the messe (sig. a. v. b.). This, besides a thousand other facts, shows that England, as a nation, did not willingly give up, but was tricked out of, the olden faith by the cunning of a selfish wicked few in high places.

In holding that the words of Christ spoken by the priest at the consecration, wrought the Eucharist and the change of the elements, Catholic England agreed with the early writers of the Church. There is a work on the Sacraments, which passes, though unwarrantably, as a production of the great St. Ambrose : its author, who must, however, have lived some time during the fifth century, says: Tu forte dicis ; meus panis est usitatus. Sed panis iste panis est ante verba sacramentorum : ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit caro Christi. Hoc igitur adstruamus. Quomodo potest qui panis est, corpus esse Christi? Consecratione. Consecratio autem quibus verbis est, et cujus sermonibus? Domini Jesu. Nam reliqua omnia quæ dicuntur in superioribus a sacerdote dicuntur, . . . ubi venitur ut conficiatur venerabile sacramentum, jam non suis sermonibus utitur sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi. Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum.

Quis est sermo Christi? Nempe is quo facta sunt omnia. Vides ergo quam operatorius sit sermo Christi. Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini Jesu ut inciperent esse quæ non erant, quanto magis operatorius est, ut sint quæ erant, et in aliud commutentur.

Vis scire quia verbis cælestibus consecratur? Accipe quæ sunt verba. Dicit sacerdos: Fac nobis, inquit, hanc oblationem adscriptam, &c. . . . Illa verba Evangelistæ sunt usque ad *Accipite*, sive corpus, sive sanguinem. Inde verba sunt Christi : *Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes ; hic est enim sanguis meus.* Et vide singula.—*De Sacramentis*, iv. 4, 5.

Again it has been shown (p. 29, n. [30]) how St. Cæsarius, who flourished during the end of the fifth, and beginning of the sixth, century, and sat many years in the see of Arles—a church with which the first Archbishop of Canterbury, St. Austin, held such a close and friendly intercourse—admonishes his hearers.

From all this, it may be easily understood why

IX.—The Anglo-Saxons were taught never to go beyond the Threshold of a Church without stirring up within Themselves Feelings of the Deepest Awe:

For they were then treading hallowed ground: (66) they were within the house of prayer—hard by the spot whereon the body of Christ was about to be consecrated—whereon the mysteries of his body and blood were being wrought: they were made aware that cherubim and seraphim [45] hovered

[45] In ipsa domo orationis, ubi Corpus Domini consecratur, ubi angelorum præsentia semper adesse non dubitatur, ne quid ineptum fiat, ne quid quod nostram fraternamve orationem impediat, totis viribus id agamus.—Beda, *Homil.*, i. 22 [*P.L.* xciv. 118]. Nec dubitare licet ubi corporis et sanguinis Dominici mysteria geruntur, supernorum civium adesse conventus, qui monumentum quo corpus ipsum venerabile positum fuerat, et unde resurgendo abscesserat, tam sedulis servatur excubiis. Unde studendum solerter, fratres mei, ut cum ecclesiam vel ad divinæ laudis debita solvenda, vel ad agenda missarum solemnia intramus, semper angelicæ præsentiæ memores, cum timore ac veneratione competenti cæleste compleamus officium in exemplum feminarum Deo devotarum, quæ apparentibus ad monumentum angelis timuisse, ac vultum declinasse narrantur in terram.—[*Ibid.* 151, ii. 4].

Quomodo autem posito in sepulchro corpori Salvatoris angeli adstitisse leguntur, ita etiam celebrandis ejusdem sacratissimi corporis mysteriis tempore consecrationis adsistere sunt credendi, monente apostolo mulieres in ecclesia velamen habere propter angelos.—Beda, *In Lucæ Evang.*, vi. 23 [*P.L.* xcii. 623]. Anglo-Saxon females at those times that they are presumed to be at church, or employed upon anything holy, are always figured in MSS. veiled.

Like sentiments have been put forth by a father of the Greek Church in words equally strong and beautiful. St. John Chrysostom says: Ὅταν δὲ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καλῇ, καὶ τὴν φρικωδεστάτην

(67) unseen about the altar, in noiseless, but most lowly worship; therefore was it becoming for man to (68) awaken within his heart a reverential dread, and be there before the holy of holies, with eyes cast down to the ground, like the pious women at the sepulchre, when, on going to seek the body of Jesus, they found it watched by an angel. Hence, too, they were told never to sit down during mass,[46] (69) unless weakness or bad health obliged them; and to hear it fasting.[47]

(70) Such feelings of awe for the spot on which

ἐπιτελῇ θυσίαν, καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων συνεχῶς ἐφάπτηται δεσπότου, ποῦ τάξομεν αὐτὸν, εἰπέ μοι; . . . Τότε καὶ ἄγγελοι παρεστήκασι τῷ ἱερεῖ, καὶ οὐρανίων δυνάμεων ἅπαν τάγμα βοᾷ, καὶ ὁ περὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον πληροῦται τόπος εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ κειμένου.—*De Sacerdotio*, vi. 4.

That angels were present and worshipping about the altar at the holy Sacrifice, was firmly believed by the English also: Nec dubites in illa hora sacrificii Corporis et sanguinis tui Redemptoris angelos adesse suo Creatori, suique Creatoris carni et sanguini cum magna reverentia ineffabile obsequium deferre.—St. Anselm, *Oratio ad Christum.* xxvii. *Op.* pp. 266, 267 [*P.L.* clviii. 918]. Again, the same holy Archbishop of Canterbury encourages this belief: Quanta enim cordis contritione et lacrymarum fonte, quanta reverentia et tremore, quanta corporis castitate et animæ puritate istud divinum et cæleste sacrificium est celebrandum, Domine, ubi caro tua in veritate sumitur, ubi sanguis tuus in veritate bibitur, ubi ima summis conjunguntur, ubi adest sanctorum angelorum præsentia, ubi tu es sacrificium et sacerdos mirabiliter et ineffabiliter.—St. Anselm, *Oratio facienda a Sacerdote ante Missam, ibid.* p. 268 [922].

From such a feeling were our altars to be kept most clean: Linteamina, corporalia, pallæ, tuellæ, manutergia, et alia altaris ornamenta integra sint et munda, et sæpius abluantur per personas a canonibus deputatas, ad reverentiam Salvatoris nostri et totius cælestis curiæ, quam huic sacramento conficiendo, et confecto non dubium est interesse.—*Constitutiones Provinciales W. Raynold, Cantuar. archiep.* A.D. 1322, Wilkins, *Conc.* ii. 513.

[46] *Et omnium circum adstantium.* Sunt nonnulli qui putant non pro his tunc orare qui forte aut infirmitatis causa, aut aliqua inter-

was offered up the holy sacrifice, did not belong (71) exclusively to our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, but

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veniente necessitate sedent.—*De Ordine Missæ*, in *MS. Biblioth. Bodl. Hatton.* fol. 21 a, in fine.

Instead of this old English, as well as Anglo-Saxon reading of the canon, Mr. Maskell gives the modern "circumstantium" in his *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England* (sec. ed., p. 84), on what authority I know not. A missal and a manual, both in MS., and two missals and two breviaries, all after Salisbury use, in my possession, have either "circum" or "circumstantium."

Our forefathers never sat down at the celebration of low mass. During Catholic times in this country, all—even the working people—were exhorted to hear a mass every day of the week. Among other instructions given to those who "gete here lyvynge by thys onest craft of good masonry," by the writer of a highly curious work in English verse, having the Latin title "Constitutiones artis Gemetrie," but for which its editor has substituted another purporting it to be "A Poem on the Constitutions of Masonry," young men are told:—

> To churche come ȝet, ȝef thou may,
> And here thy masse uche day;
> ȝef thou mowe not come to churche,
> Wher that ever thou doste worche,
> When thou herest to masse knylle,
> Pray to God, with herte stylle,
> To ȝeve the part of that servyse
> That yn churche ther don yse.

—Halliwell, *History of Freemasonry in England*, p. 35, l. 684.

Furthermore, when the youthful workman does go to the house of God, he is thus taught how to behave himself there:—

> To the churche dore when thou dost come,
> Of that holy water ther sum thow nome
> For every drope thou felust ther
> Qwenchet a venyal synne, be thou ser.
> But furst thou most do down thy hode,
> For hyse love that dyed on the rode.
> Into the churche when thou dost gon,
> Pulle uppe thy herte to Crist, anon!
> Uppon the rode thou loke uppe then,
> And knele down fayre on bothe thy knen;
> . . . . . .

may be seen, much before their time, acting upon other portions of the Church, both in the east

In that place nowther sytte ny stonde
But knele fayr down on the gronde,
And, when the Gospel me rede schal,
Fayre thou stonde up fro the wal,
And blesse the fayre, ȝef that thou conne,
When *Gloria tibi* is begonne ;
And when the Gospel ys y-donn,
Agayn thou myȝth knele adown
On bothe thy knen down thou falle,
For hyse love that bowȝht us alle ;
And when thou herest the belle rynge
To that holy sakerynge
Knele ȝe most, bothe ȝynge and olde
And bothe ȝer hondes fayr upholde,
And saye thenne yn thys manere,
Fayre and softe withoute bere,
Jhesu Lord, welcom thou be
Yn forme of bred, as y the se
Now Jhesu, for thyn holy name,
Schulde me from synne and schame
Schryff and hosel thou grant me bo,
ȝer that y schal hennus go. &c.

—*Ibid.*, pp. 32–33, l. 600.

That up to the reign of Henry VIII. the custom lasted of hearing mass kneeling, we learn from the notice which Sir Thomas More takes of the freaks which a madman of his days used to play off in the churches of London : "One that had bene put up in Bedelem, being set at liberty, he used in his wandering about, to come into the churche, and there make many mad toies and trifles, to the trouble of good people in the divine service, and specially woulde he be most busye in the time of most silence, while the priest was at the secretes of the masse aboute the levacion. And if he spied ani woman kneling at a form, if her heade hinge anye thinge lowe in her medytacions, than woulde steale behynde her," &c.—*The Works of Sir Thomas More*, Lond. 1557, The Apology, p. 901, col. 2.

As the people went, however, to church on Sundays and holidays, at early morning for matins and lauds, and in the afternoon for even-song, and for hearing the sermon after dinner, the pews which we still find in many of our beautiful old churches, were needful for them.

Even now, a rubric of the Roman Missal enjoins on all to hear

and west, and have been fondly cherished ever since; nowhere, however, with more warmth than in our own England, while it was Catholic.

X.—The Intention for which the Anglo-Saxons offered up to God the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass,

May be learned from the forms of supplication which they used at its celebration, and from their ritual.

As he stood before the altar, the Anglo-Saxon sacrificing priest was told to call thus upon (72) Heaven :[48] "Receive, O holy Trinity, this oblation

low mass kneeling: Circumstantes autem in Missis privatis semper genua flectunt etiam tempore Paschali præterquam dum legitur Evangelium.—*Rubricæ generales Missalis*, cap. xvii.

[47] Ille qui prius manducare probatur, ad osculum non permittitur.—*Cap. et Frag. Theodori*, Thorpe, *Anc. Laws*, ii. 76. The custom of hearing mass fasting, was long after kept up here in England. St. Anselm observes of it: Si quis enim differt cibum sumere propterea quia nondum ea die Missæ celebrationi affuit; peracto quod prius facere volebat, non incongrue dicitur illi: jam sume cibum, propterea quia jam fecisti propter quod sumere differebas.—*Cur Deus homo.*, i. 9, p. 78 [*P.L.* clviii. 372].

[48] Suscipe sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem quam tibi offero in memoriam incarnationis, natiuitatis, passionis, resurrectionis, ascensionis Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, et in honore omnium sanctorum tuorum qui tibi placuerunt ab initio mundi, et eorum quorum hodie festiuitas celebratur, et quorum hic nomina et reliquiæ habentur, ut illis proficiat ad honorem, nobis autem ad salutem, ut illi omnes pro nobis intercedere dignentur in cœlis quorum memoriam facimus in terris.

Suscipe sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem quam tibi offero pro animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum ill', ut requiem æternam dones eis inter sanctos et electos tuos ut in illorum consortio vita perfruantur æterna.—*Leofric Missal*, 9.

which I offer unto Thee in memory of the Incarnation, Birth, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ; and in honour of all Thy saints, who, from the beginning of the world, have been pleasing unto Thee, and of those whose festival is this day celebrated, and whose names and relics are here kept, that it may go to their honour, and to our help, that they of whom we make memory on earth, may all deign to intercede in heaven for us."

"Receive, O holy Trinity, this oblation which I offer unto Thee, for such and such souls of Thy servants, men and women, that Thou mayest give unto them everlasting rest among thy holy and chosen ones, that in their fellowship, they may fully enjoy never-ending life." Prayer for the (73) dead; the intercession of the saints already in heaven, and a religious respect for their relics, are points of doctrine which, with others, are broadly laid down here.

At his ordination, the Anglo-Saxon priest was bidden to say mass for the living and the dead;[49] and, whenever he opened a Missal, he was reminded of such an obligation by the prayers, and the titles to the different masses which caught his eye.[50] As

[49] See note [24] on p. 25.

[50] The following are some of the Masses in the *Leofric Missal*:—
Missa generalis pro vivis et defunctis, p. 11.
Missa pro familiaribus, p. 14.
Ad Angelorum suffragium postulandum Missa, p. 177.
Missa in honore Sanctæ Crucis, p. 177.
Missa in ecclesia quorum reliquiæ ibidem continentur, p. 178.
Missa pro defuncta femina, p. 196.

a help for putting such a duty more readily into practice, Anglo-Saxon learning and piety had drawn up various masses; and if he only said them according to the order in which his own illustrious countryman, Alcuin,[51] had set them, he

[51] Missas quoque aliquas de nostro tuli Missale ad quotidiana et ecclesiasticæ consuetudinis officia. Primo in honore summæ Trinitatis, deinde ad Sanctorum intercessiones deprecandas, etiam et angelorum suffragia postulanda, quæ multum necessaria sunt in hac peregrinatione laborantibus. Postea sanctæ Dei Genitricis semperque Virginis Mariæ missam superaddidimus per dies aliquot, si cui placuerit, decantandam.—Alcuin, *Epist.* li., *ad Vedastinos*, i. pp. 59-60. [*P.L.*, c. 215.] Alcuin sent a similar list of masses to his brethren at Fulda.

Misi cartulam Missalem vobis, O sanctissimi presbyteri ut habeatis singulis diebus, quibus preces Deo dirigere cuilibet placeat; quando in honorem sanctæ Trinitatis; quando de amore sapientiæ; quando de pœnitentiæ lacrymis; quando de caritate perfecta, vel quando ad suffragia Angelica postulanda, vel omnium Sanctorum cuilibet postulare placet; vel etiam si quis pro peccatis suis: vel pro quolibet amico vivente; et etiam pro amicis plurimis; vel etiam fratribus de hoc seculo recedentibus facere velit orationes; vel quando specialiter Beatæ Mariæ Genitricis Dei Virginis perpetuæ deprecari velit intercessiones.—Alcuin, *Ad Fuldenses*, *Ibid.*, p. 56 [*P.L.* c. 385].

"Our Missal," of which Alcuin speaks above, he drew up partly from the Gelasian, partly from the Gregorian Sacramentary. This we learn from a list taken A.D. 831, of the treasures belonging to the church of Centule or St. Riquier, in France, in which, among the things for the use of the altar, are set down the books then in the sacristy: De libris sacrarii qui ministerio altaris deserviunt; Missales Gregoriani tres; Missalis Gregorianus et Gelasianus modernis temporibus ab Albino ordinatus I. Lectionarii Epistolarum et Evangeliorum mixtim et ordinate compositi V. Missales Gelasiani XIX. Textus Evangelii IV. aureis litteris scriptus totus I. Lectionarius plenarius a supradicto Albino ordinatus I. Antiphonarii sex.—*Chron. Centul.*, iii. 3 [*P.L.* clxxiv. 1261].

That France was much beholden to the Anglo-Saxons for learning and holy example, is with thankfulness acknowledged by Hucbald, a French monk of high reputation at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century, who, in writing the life of our

(74) could not fail, within even a week, not only to fulfil the wishes of his Church, but also to exemplify (75) almost every article of her belief. One morning he would say mass in honour of the Trinity; on the next, to beseech the Saints' intercession, or to ask the Angels for their help, so needful to all who are toiling through this world's pilgrimage; on the morrow he would not forget to offer it up either in behalf of his sinful self, of his kindred, or of his living or expiring friends; on the following day, he would celebrate it in reverence for, and to win the favour of, the Mother of God, the ever virgin Mary. To be thought of by the priest over the holy sacrifice, was the warmest wish of every pious Anglo-Saxon. The living earnestly besought their (76) sacerdotal friends to pray for them at that awful rite wherein bread and wine were changed into the body and blood of Christ;[52] and the dying man feelingly begged that as soon as his poor soul went forth into another life, it might be

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countryman St. Lebwin, says: In salo quidem reposita, nobilis tamen vulgataque Britannia oceani insula, etc. . . . Quis enim queat explicare quot lumina doctorum, verbis et exemplis perfectorum prodierunt inde? Quos nostra gaudet Francia se ut veros Christi Apostolos hospitio gratanter recepisse, alimoniis abundanter refovisse, rebus ac facultatibus honorabiliter munerasse, prædicantes libenter audisse, magisque monentibus se salubriter obedisse: necnon et beatas sanctorum corporum exuvias se lætatur hactenus ad suorum patrocinium veneranter custodire, sperantes pro his omnibus se partem habituros cum eis in æterna beatitudine.—Hucbald, *Vita S. Lebuini*, c. 2 [*P.L.* cxxxii. 879].

[52] See Alcuin's request on this subject to his friend Paulinus, mentioned at note [18] on p. 18.

aided and soothed by the almsdeeds— but especially the masses caused to be offered up for it—by his surviving wellwishers.[53] Hence each benefactor to a church enjoined upon its clergy to remember him during his lifetime, as well as after death, in their masses and daily services.[54] Like ourselves, the Anglo-Saxons often celebrated mass for a particular intention.

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[53] Thus it is that the saintly Beda feelingly begs the monks of Lindisfarn to pray for him when he should be dead : Me defuncto, pro redemptione animæ meæ. . . . orare et missas facere, et nomen meum inter vestra scribere dignemini.—*Præf. ad Vit. S. Cudberti* [*P.L.* xciv. 734].

[54] Maxime cum ipsi diebus singulis missas pro nobis saluberrimas offerant, et armis spiritualibus, C. psalteriis contra invisibiles hostes dimicare non cessent.—Kemble, *Codex Dipl.*, i. 271.

(77) CHAPTER II

XI.—Oftentimes during the Canon of the Mass, the Holy Sign of the Cross, as now, was made by the Sacrificing Priest over the Sacred Elements, both before and after Consecration.

Our illustrious countryman St. Boniface,[1] the apostle of Germany, wrote and asked Pope Zachary, A.D. 741–752, to let him know exactly how many, and at what words, such signs of the cross ought to be made at mass. In hallowing the Eucharist, and at the administration of the other holy sacraments, the Anglo-Saxons employed the sacred sign in conformity with a practice that had existed everywhere in the true Church from its beginning; for, as we learn from St. Beda,[2] speaking in the

[1] Nam et hoc flagitasti a nobis, sanctissime frater, in sacri canonis prædicatione, quot in locis cruces facere debeamus: tuæ significemus sanctitati. Votis autem tuis clementer inclinati, in rotulo dato prædicto Lul religioso presbytero tuo, per loca, signa sanctæ crucis quanta fieri debeant, infiximus.—*Zacharias Bonifacio*, in *S. Bonifacii op.* ed. Giles, i. 186.

[2] Postremo quid est quod omnes noverunt signum Christi, nisi crux Christi? Quod signum nisi adhibeatur sive frontibus credentium, sive ipsi aquæ ex qua regenerantur, sive oleo quo chrismate unguntur, sive sacrificio quo aluntur, nihil eorum rite perficitur.—St. Beda, *In. Evang. Johannis* c. xix. [*P.L.* xcii. 913]. This is an extract from St. Austin, *Tract.* 118, note 5.

Alcuin's scholar, Amalarius (*c.* A.D. 820) lays it down as his belief

(78) words of the great St. Austin: "Unless this sign of the cross be applied to the foreheads of the believing, or to the water through which they are born again, or to the oil with the chrism of which they are anointed, or to the sacrifice with which they are fed, none of these rites is duly performed."

To the Crosses in the Canon of the Mass, objections have been made which we wish to answer.

Touching these holy signs, Mr. Maskell says, in his second edition of the *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, note 34, p. 98: "I have not thought it necessary to be continually pointing out the vast number of signs of the cross which are appointed to be made during the Service, according to the old English uses, and the modern Roman. The reader will not require me to remind him, (79) that in such an intolerable multitude, they are of late introduction; and in effect, when seen, I should suppose at least unbecoming, if not ridiculous.

"But these five crosses, in particular, are a stumbling-block in the way of the ritualists of the Church of Rome; who fail in explaining how it is that they are to be used after the Consecration. They are earlier, doubtless, than the introduction of the doctrine of transubstantiation; and it would be well, according to the admission of Maldonatus, that they should be omitted. (Vide *Benedicti XIV. Opera*, tom. ix. p. 176.) But, as I before said, these, and the doctrine of tran-

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that the sign of the cross must necessarily be made at the sacrifice of the Eucharist, otherwise the bread does not become the body of Christ: Sic sane et panis purus corpus suum antea fieri non poterat nisi ad memoriam reducatur sacerdotis sacramentum passionis Domini, et crucis signaculum super eo celebretur.—Amalarius, *Eclogæ De Off. Missæ* [cap. *De pace* in *P.L.* cv. 1729].

substantiation, in fact, oppose each other. And if the crosses are a difficulty, much more is the prayer, 'Supra quæ propitio,' which follows, irreconcilable with the dogma of transubstantiation."

Several things in Mr. Maskell's observations call for our notice. To begin with the crosses made, more especially, during the canon of the mass. The word "ridiculous," applied in any way to this holy sign of the true Christian's belief, employed at any time, but more particularly during the most solemn part of the liturgy, which sets before us the death of the crucified Son of God, is, to say nothing else of it, most unseemly. Methinks that a rubric which, more than a thousand years ago, was deemed of so much weight, by such a holy and not unlearned man as our own St. Boniface, the martyred apostle of Germany, as to lead him to ask the head of all Christendom, the pope, how it ought to be followed;—methinks, I say, such a rubric should not have been handled with a rough irreverent touch by any countryman of his,—least of all by one who, like Mr. Maskell, has earned for himself the thanks of every lover of the good old paths, by his two works on the rites and liturgy of the ancient Church of England, notwithstanding the Protestant error, and Protestant feelings (80) against some articles of Catholic belief, to be found scattered here and there amid his own annotations to those precious monuments of English ecclesiastical antiquity which he has published.

Without affording any hint of what, according to his standard for the measurement of time, may be looked upon as early, or recent, in the Christian era, Mr. Maskell tells us: "In such an intolerable!!" [these notes of wonderment are my own] "multitude, the signs of the cross are of late introduction" (*Ib.*). That St. Austin, in the fourth century, and in the eighth our own St. Beda, thought the sign of the cross

absolutely necessary in hallowing the Eucharist, is evident from their words above (p. 66, note [2]). Let it not, however, be inferred that a single sign of the cross is meant by either of these fathers; both of them speak of its use at the Eucharist, under the same terms as at Baptism; but in the latter, this sign, as is well known, was often repeated. Nothing, then, obliges us to think, from their words, that these writers wished to signify that but one sign of the cross was made, in their times, at the consecration of the Eucharist.

In his life of the abbot Venantius, who lived towards the end of the fifth century, St. Gregory of Tours (A.D. 573) incidentally tells us, that the sign of the cross was always made, then, in the consecration of the Eucharist; and, from the stress laid by him on the well-known fact that such a practice was thoroughly Catholic, we may safely infer that this same holy sign must have been so employed by the Church of the ancient Britons, standing, as it did, thus near in neighbourhood to Gaul, and keeping up with it a Christian fellowship. "Denique," writes St. Gregory, "quadam die Dominica ad Missarum celebranda sollemnia invitatur (Sanctus Venantius Abbas) dixitque fratribus: Jam enim oculi mei caligine obteguntur, nec (81) possum libellum adspicere, presbytero igitur hæc alteri agenda mandate. Dicente igitur presbytero, ipse proximus adstitit, ventumque est ut sanctum munus, juxta morem Catholicum, signo crucis superposito benediceretur. At ille intuitus, vidit quasi ad fenestram absidæ scalam positam, et quasi descendentem per eam virum senem, clericatus honore venerabilem, atque ablatum altario sacrificium dextera extensa benedicentem."—[*Vit. Patr.*, xvi. 2] ed. Ruinart, p. 1229 [*P.L.*, lxxi. 1075].

If we look into the liturgies of the Western Church, we shall find the frequent cross, during the canon of

the mass, carefully set down in them. That precious MS., written towards the middle of the seventh century, and for which Mabillon has invented the title of *Sacramentarium Gallicanum*, shows many signs of the cross marked in its canon of the mass (Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, i. 280). Now, as the MS. itself is more than a thousand years old, it is fair to conclude that the practice to which it bears witness is older still. Crosses are found marked in those venerable codices of the *Liber Sacramentorum*, or arrangement of the liturgy and administration of the sacraments, by the apostle of Anglo-Saxon England, Pope St. Gregory, and first printed by Pamelius in the second volume, p. 181, of his *Liturgicon Latinum*. They are also to be seen in the *Canon Missæ*, in a MS. of the ninth century, and published by Gerbert in his *Monumenta Veteris Liturgiæ Alemannicæ*, p. 235, and noticed in his *Vetus Liturgia*, i. 343; as well as in an ancient missal according to the Ambrosian rite, given also by Pamelius in his *Liturgicon*, i. 303. Georgi has noticed the variations, in all the oldest codices, of the canon of the mass with respect to these crosses. (*Lit. Rom. Pont.*, iii., p. xli. et seq.)

Amalarius is a writer whose works, highly valuable (82) to every one, will have more than ordinary interest to the eyes of Englishmen, since he spent his earlier years under our own illustrious Alcuin, whose teaching, which he thus becomingly acknowledges in regard to singing the office, no doubt weighed upon him with the same authority in all other ritual matters: "Audivi," writes Amalarius of Alcuin, "audivi illos (responsorios) canere in isto ordine, quando videbar puer esse ante Albinum doctissimum magistrum totius regionis nostræ. Cuius auctoritate delectatus ac fretus, postquam libertate usus sum canendi quæ congrua mihi videbantur, cœpi," &c.—*De Ordine Antipho.* cap. 58

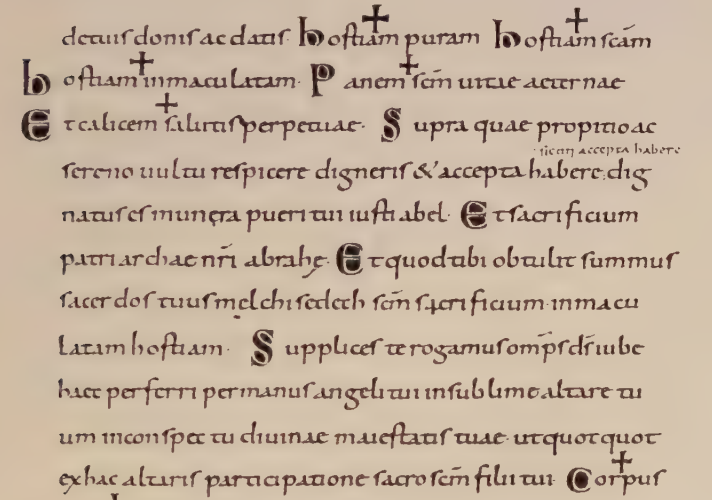
[*P.L.* cv. 1303]. In his *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, which he gave to the world some time before A.D. 830, Amalarius says: Cæterum de crucibus, quas solemus diverso modo facere super panem et vinum, non est quid dicam, cur tali et in tali loco figantur, vel quare plures in aliquo, vel pauciores in aliquo.—Videtur mihi, si semel fuerit facta crux super panem et vinum, posse sufficere, quia Dominus semel crucifixus est. Non ab re est si bis figatur, quia pro duobus populis fixus est Christus. At si figi necesse est in loco ubi dicitur: *Accipiens panem*, seorsum necesse est figuretur super panem, et seorsum super vinum, &c.—*De Eccles. Officiis*, iii. 24 [*Ibid.* 1140]. While thus bearing witness that many signs of the cross were made at mass, yet Amalarius speaks in such a way as to let us know that neither their number nor their places were then exactly fixed, at least in our western provinces of the Latin Church, thus showing how it happened that our countryman, St. Boniface, almost a century before that, should have found it necessary to write and ask the instructions of Rome upon this very rubric of the crosses in the Canon of the Mass. In the interval between composing his work *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, and that *De Ordine Antiphonarii*, Amalarius went (83) to Rome, where, it is not unlikely, he drew up another and no less valuable commentary upon the Mass, as said by the Pope, calling this new book *Ecloga*, which was first printed by Baluze at the end of the second volume of his *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, p. 898 (Venetiis, 1773) from a MS. at St. Gall; afterwards in part by Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, ii. 549; and wholly by Georgi, *De Lit. Rom. Pon.*, iii. 339, from several Vatican MSS. Now in the *Ecloga* there is a paragraph *De Crucibus in* Te Igitur, under which Amalarius tells us: Cruces in hac oratione senario numero perficiuntur, &c., but under another paragraph, headed *Qualiter quædam*

orationes et cruces in Te igitur *agendæ sunt*, the crosses themselves, and their precise places, are carefully noted (Baluze, *Ibid.*, pp. 908, 909, and Georgi, *Ibid.*, p. 365, et seq. [*P.L.*, cv. 1326, 1330]); and on a comparison with the canon as now rubricated, we find the same number of crosses were signed, and at the same words, then as now, saving thrice; at one of which times—*corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus*—two crosses, and at the other—*per ipsum, et cum ipso, et in ipso*—three crosses are now made, but of which Amalarius takes no notice, because not then in use; and in the third place, those three crosses, now signed at the words *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum*, were omitted by the Pope, who, however, made them without saying anything, after the *Agnus Dei*. Thus we learn from Amalarius, that about the year 830, the signs of the cross at the canon of the Mass, were but a few short in number from ours, and, with some slight difference, were made at the self-same words as now.

(84) In the Leofric Missal, the canon, the beginning of which is written in letters of gold upon a purple ground, has the crosses, coloured in red, put over the same words that have them in our missals of the present day, excepting those which we now make at *Per ipsum*, &c., and the *Pax Domini*, &c.

The Bodleian has a codex (*Auct.*, d. i. 20), in most beautiful condition, of the *Liber Sacramentorum a Sancto Gregorio editum ex Authentico Libro Bibliothecæ Cubicularis Scriptum*, which once belonged to the Abbey of St. Emmerammus at Ratisbon. This fine MS. is of the ninth century, and from a prayer inserted just before the consecration, and worded thus: Hanc igitur oblationem Domine placatus intende quam tibi offerimus pro regibus et principibus nostris, pro statu regni Francorum, &c., would seem to be a transcript from an older one. In its canon the usual number of crosses, not in red but in gold, are marked, includ-

ing the five at *Hostiam puram* and the two at *Corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus*, and are thus fewer only by three than those in Leofric's missal.



detuis donis ac datis. Hostiam puram Hostiam scam
Hostiam inmaculatam. Panem scm uitae aeternae
Et calicem salutis perpetuae. Supra quae propitio ac
sicut accepta habere
sereno uultu respicere digneris & accepta habere. dig
natus es munera pueri tui iusti abel. Et sacrificium
patriarchae nri abrahe. Et quod tibi obtulit summus
sacerdos tuus melchisedech scm sacrificium inmacu
latam hostiam. Supplices te rogamus omps ds iube
haec perferri per manus angeli tui in sublime altare tu
um in conspectu diuinae maiestatis tuae. ut quotquot
ex hac altaris participatione sacro scm filii tui. Corpus
Et sanguinem sumpserimus omni benedictione caeles
ti & gratia repleamur. per xpm.
Memento & enim dne famulorum famularumq; tua
rum & beatissimae uirginis mariae omniumq; scorum
tuorum intercedentibus meritis suppliciter qs omps
ds ut famulos ac famulas tuas quorum elemosinas re
cepimus seu qui nobis familiaritate coniuncti sunt

Bodleian MS., *Auct.*, d. i. 20.

(85) *Why the Signs of the Cross are made in the Canon.*

As of other ceremonial rites, so also the question of "these five crosses" has been freely canvassed by the mediæval and later writers, not one of whom, however, but has pointed out their fitness, and brought forwards abundant explanations of their meaning. But

throughout their various comments, the conviction is always to be found strongly manifested, that these crosses are made to put us in mind that, after consecration, the true and very body and blood of Christ are both together (86) in the sacred host, and that the number of them—five—is intended to recall to our thoughts the wounds in the hands, the feet, and the side of our crucified Redeemer. We will begin with Ivo of Chartres (A.D. 1092), who thus speaks of these crosses in his *Micrologus:* Item ubi dicitur: *Hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam,* tres cruces super utrunque simul facimus: quia et utrunque simul in eisdem verbis intelligimus. Quartam autem crucem super panem, et quintam super calicem separatim infigimus, iterum sanguinem Dominicum de latere Dominico profluentem, designantes.—*Micrologus de Eccles. Observ.*, xv. (Hittorp, 740). Rupert Abbot of Duyts, near Cologne (A.D. 1111), thus writes: Ubi enim dicens, *hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitæ æternæ, et calicem salutis perpetuæ,* quinarium crucis signaculum panis et vini imprimit substantiæ, Christo sedenti ad dextram Patris veraciter (ut dictum est) concorporatæ, eruditum contemplatorem rerum, ad illam B. passionem mittit. Nam ab hinc usque dum corporale desuper auferat, pendentis in cruce spirat agon et passio Domini. Hæc ergo sunt illa viventis petræ foramina, in quibus formosa est et immaculata columba, scilicet ecclesia: in quibus tunc certius nidificat, cum intra verba prædicta, vel quinque crucis signacula quinque dilecti sui plagas, videlicet duas manuum totidemque pedum, et unam lateris, fida tenet et contemplatur memoria.—Rupertus, abbas Tuitiensis, *De Divin. Off.*, ii. 12 (*Ibid.*, p. 877). The passage to which Rupert refers above, where he says "ut dictum est," will be found by looking at chapter ii. in the same work, wherein the writer remarks: Quoniam ergo prope est

in ore tuo, verbum Dei, verbum crucis, Christus Dominus, si huius verbi flumen super panem et vinum effuderis, et ordine qui ab ipso statutus est veritatem huius verbi protuleris, statim (87) de sancto altari panem ipsum et vinum, in corpus et sanguinem suum transferendo suscipit, eadem virtute, eadem potentia vel gratia, qua nostram de Maria virgine carnem suscipere potuit, quomodo voluit.—Igitur unum corpus est, et quod de Maria genitum in cruce pependit, et in sancto altari oblatum, quotidie nobis ipsam innovat passionem Domini.—*Ibid.*, p. 870.

Stephen of Autun (A.D. 1113) thus notices these crosses: Quinaria cruce signamus, ut non eum a quo omnis sanctificatio, sanctificemus, sed ut vulnera pendentis in cruce, duo manuum, duo pedum, quintum lateris flebiliter et devote recolamus. *De Sac. Altaris*, [*P.L.*, clxxii. 1298]. Honorius of Autun (A.D. 1130), in his *Gemma Animæ*, i. 106, says: Species panis et vini cernitur, Corpus Christi et Sanguis creditur. Hostiam ✠ puram quantum ad Corpus, Hostiam ✠ sanctam quantum ad Sanguinem, Hostiam ✠ immaculatam ad utrunque pertinet.—Hittorp, 1210. In his book, *De sacro altaris mysterio*, Pope Innocent III. (A.D. 1198) observes: De signis quæ tertio loco fiunt super oblatam et calicem, quia vero dicit ecclesia, memorem se Dominicæ passionis, statim acerbiorem speciem illius passionis commemorat, recolens in quinque crucibus quinque plagas.—v. i. Durand (A.D. 1286), in his *Rationale Divin. Offic.*, iv. xliii., merely repeats the words of the writers quoted above. Biel says (A.D. 1480): Format autem (sacerdos) quinque (cruces) ad significandum quinque Christi plagas seu vulnera in cruce inflicta, &c.—Format autem tres cruces communiter, super oblatam et calicem, quoniam in tribus primis verbis utrunque simul intelligitur quia nomine hostie, corpus et sanguis significatur.—Biel, *Sacri Canonis Misse tam mystica quam literalis Expositio*, lectio iiii. fol. cxlii.

To conclude, let us hear what a modern learned writer on the liturgy, Le Brun, says upon this (88) matter: "At this prayer, when we make five signs of the cross, the first, at saying *Hostiam* ✠ *puram*, indicates that there is there the pure victim which was nailed to the cross; the second, at saying *Hostiam* ✠ *sanctam*, indicates that there is there the holy victim which was offered up upon the cross; the third, at saying *Hostiam* ✠ *immaculatam*, that there is there the victim without spot which was immolated upon the cross; the fourth, at *Panem* ✠ *sanctum*, means that we have there the holy bread of life, that is to say, Him who declared, 'I am the true bread of life that came down from heaven, and died upon a cross, to give you life;' the fifth, at *Calicem* ✠ *salutis*, signifies that the blood which is in the chalice, is the very same that was shed upon the cross for the world's redemption. These five signs of the cross, as well as the five words to which they are joined, are but lively expressions which ought to call to our mind that the victim of the altar and the victim of the cross is but one and the very same."—Le Brun, *Explication des Prières et des Cérémonies de la Messe*, t. ii. part 4, art. xi. p. 489.

(90) Transubstantiation is an article of Catholic belief, as strongly held and as rigorously required to be unhesitatingly received by all, in the eastern as well as the western part of Christendom. Not only the united or orthodox Greeks, and other Oriental churches in communion with Rome, but the Photians or separated Greeks, and the other sects in the East living apart, by schism and heresy, from Rome, entirely agree with (91) her and the Latins upon Transubstantiation. Nay, the liturgies of the East are, if anything, even more declaratory of that Catholic dogma than those which have at different times been employed in the West. Had Transubstantiation been an "introduction" of Rome's, instead of borrowing it from her, the Eastern

separatists, especially the Greeks, would have been but too glad to have lighted on so good a plea to upbraid her for having brought in such a new doctrine. But what is the fact? That the writers on the Greek Liturgy are quite as clear and explicit in asserting Transubstantiation as the Latins; in proof of which we have only to listen to what such men as Nicholas Methonensis (A.D. 1090) and Nicholas Cabasilas (A.D. 1350), both of them declared enemies of the Latin Church, have said upon this point. Nicholas Methonensis, in the short tract which he wrote *πρὸς τοὺς δισταζόντας, καὶ λεγόντας ὅτι ὁ ἱερουργουμένος ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος οὐκ ἔστι σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, begins by saying: *τὴν μυστικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον ἱερουργίαν, καθ' ἣν τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον καθαγιαζόμενα εἰς τὸ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου μεταποιεῖσθαι πιστεύομεν, παρὰ τίνος ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν φαίης δοθῆναι; Ἆρ' οὐχὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ, τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; . . . Τί διστάζεις; τὶ τῷ παντοδυνάμῳ ἀδυνατίαν περιάπτεις; Οὐκ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐκ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα παραγαγὼν, ὁ εἷς τῆς τρισυποστάτου θεότητος, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων σαρκωθεὶς, καὶ ὁ τὸν ἄρτον εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ σῶμα μεταβάλλεσθαι προστεταχώς*; [*P. G.* cxxxv. 509, 512, 513]. Cabasilas is equally strong in asserting this dogma, for he says, in his "Exposition of the Liturgy," this sacrifice is not an image and a figure of a sacrifice, but a true sacrifice; it is not bread which is sacrificed, but Christ's body.—The bread which is unsacrificed is then changed into what is sacrificed—into Christ's very body, which is truly sacrificed. It is changed from unslain bread into Christ's very body which was truly slain.

(92) *Τὸ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην μὴ εἰκόνα καὶ τύπον εἶναι θυσίας, ἀλλὰ θυσίαν ἀληθινὴν, τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄρτον τὸ τεθυμένον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ σῶμα. Μεταβάλλει γὰρ ἀπὸ ἄρτου μὴ ἐσφαγμένου εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου τὸ σφαγὲν ἀληθῶς.*—*De Divino Altaris Sacrificio*, cap.

xxxii. [*P.G.* cl. 439]. In a council which they held (A.D. 1672) at Bethlehem, or rather at Jerusalem, the separated Greek prelates thus declared to the world the teaching of their sect on the subject of the Blessed Sacrament: "We believe," say they, "that in his holy rite our Lord Jesus Christ is present, not in a typical, not in a figurative manner; not according to a certain excellence of grace as in the other sacraments; not according to a simple presence, as some of the Fathers have supposed to be the case in baptism; not according to impanation, by which the Divinity of the Word could be substantially united to the proposed bread of the Eucharist, as the followers of Luther have unlearnedly and unhappily imagined; but really and truly: so that after the consecration of the bread and wine, they are changed, transubstantiated, converted, transformed, the bread into Christ's very true body, which was born of the ever Virgin at Bethlehem, baptized in the Jordan, suffered, was buried, arose from the grave, went up above, now sits at God's right hand, and will come again in the clouds of heaven: the wine is changed, transubstantiated into that very true blood of our Lord's, which ran out of him as he hung on the cross for the life of the word.

"Moreover we believe, that after the consecration of the bread and wine, neither the substance of the bread, nor the substance of the wine, remains there any longer, but that there are there our Lord's body and blood, under the (93) species and figure of bread and wine—that is, under the accidents of bread and wine." *Τούτου ἐν τῇ ἱερουργίᾳ πιστεύομεν παρεῖναι τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν οὐ τυπικῶς οὐδ' εἰκονικῶς οὐδὲ χάριτι ὑπερβαλούσῃ, ὡς ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς μυστηρίοις, οὐδὲ κατὰ μόνην παρουσίαν, καθώς τινες τῶν πατέρων εἰρήκασι περὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὐδὲ κατ' ἐναρτισμὸν ὥστε ἑνοῦσθαι τὴν θεότητα τοῦ λόγου τῷ προκειμένῳ τῆς εὐχαριστίας*

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SEMINARII KENRICKIANI

ἄρτῳ ὑποστατικῶς, καθὼς οἱ ἀπὸ Λουθήρου λίαν ἀμαθῶς καὶ ἀθλίως δοξάζουσιν. ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς καὶ πραγματικῶς, ὥστε μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ οἴνου μεταβάλλεσθαι, μετουσιοῦσθαι, μεταποιεῖσθαι, μεταῤῥυθμίζεσθαι, τὸν μὲν ἄρτον εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀληθὲς τοῦ κυρίου σῶμα, ὅπερ ἐγεννήθη ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ἐκ τῆς ἀειπαρθένου, ἐβαπτίσθη ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ, ἔπαθεν, ἐτάφη, ἀνέστη, ἀνελήφθη, κάθηται ἐκ δεξίων τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατέρος, μέλλει ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· τὸν δὲ οἶνον μεταποιεῖσθαι καὶ μετουσιοῦσθαι εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀληθὲς τοῦ κυρίου αἷμα, ὅπερ κρεμαμένου ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐχύθη ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς.

Ἔτι μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τοῦ ἀρτοῦ καὶ τοῦ οἴνου, οὐκ ἔτι μένειν τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ ἄρτου, καὶ τοῦ οἴνου, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ οἴνου εἴδει καὶ τύπῳ, ταὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς τοῦ ἄρτου συμβεβηκόσιν.—*Synodus Ierosolymitana Decretum* xvii. [Harduin, *Conc.* xi. 252].

(94) *Transubstantiation is taught in every Missal hitherto known, though these very five signs of the cross are not to be seen in the earliest MSS.*

It must be kept in mind that, with but one or two solitary exceptions, in all the very early codices the canon of the mass has not a single sign of the cross marked in it. See Thomasius, *Codices Sacramentorum*, *Canon Actionis* (*Op.*, t. vi. p. 174, ed. Vezzosi), for the Roman missal; *ibid.* p. 366, for the *Missale Francorum*. Of a venerable MS. in the monastery of Rheinau, Gerbert tells us: Crucis signa non notantur in antiquissimo Sacramentario nostro Rhenaugiensi (Gerbertus, *Vetus Liturgia Alemannica*, i. 343); and Angelo Rocca, in his *Scholia* on the Sacramentary of St. Gregory, *Op.*, t. ii. p. 383, notices the absence of the cross in the manuscripts he had seen.

While, however, these early manuscripts, containing the canon of the mass, are without these five crosses,

they are not without strong and luminous declarations of the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation connected with them. In the invocation, before consecrating, all of them taught, as the Roman missal still teaches, the priest to beseech—Ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat (oblatio) dilectissimi filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi —that the oblation be made for us, the body and blood of thy most beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord—meaning the change of the substance of bread and wine into the very body and blood of Christ, or Transubstantiation. St. Gregory the Great, of whom, from having arranged it, the Sacramentary of the Roman Church borrowed its name, shows, by the way in which he speaks of the Eucharist, that the dogma of the Real Presence, and Transubstantiation, was not looked upon as an "introduction" at the time he lived, which was long before any traces of those five crosses are to be found: (95) "Viri," writes St. Gregory, "quippe ejus tabernaculi de carnibus illius (Redemtoris) saturari cupierunt, vel Judæi scilicet persequentes, vel Gentes credentes: quia et illi moliti sunt corpus illius, quasi consumendo, extinguere: et isti esurientem mentem suam desiderant per quotidianum immolationis sacrificium de ejus carnibus satiare." —*Moralia*, lib. xxii. 13, in cap. xxxi. Job. p. 710 [*P.L.* lxxvi. 228]. And, commenting on those words, *bonus pastor animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis*, the same pontiff says: Fecit quod monuit, ostendit quod jussit. Bonus pastor pro ovibus suis animam suam posuit, ut in sacramento nostro corpus suum et sanguinem verteret, et oves quas redemerat carnis suæ alimento satiaret.—*Homilia*, I. xiv. 1; *ibid.* p. 1484 [1127].

No mention whatsoever is made of these crosses in that highly curious exposition of the mass, a document of the sixth century, published by Martene; yet Transubstantiation is distinctly put forth in it (p. 30, n. [31]).

Not the slightest trace of these crosses can be found

in the *Missale Francorum*, and yet St. Cæsarius of Arles speaks openly of Transubstantiation, and bids us throw aside all doubt against it. See p. 29, n. [30].

Until Amalarius had visited the Holy See, and often communicated with Theodore, the archdeacon of the Roman church, upon the rubrics, he did not mention these crosses. (96) In his first work, on the Divine Offices, he does not let drop a word about them; yet, however, at that very part of the canon where some notice of these crosses, had he then known of them, would have naturally suggested itself, Amalarius does make a clear and beautiful exposition of Transubstantiation: Hic credimus naturam simplicem panis et vini mixti, verti in naturam rationabilem, scilicet corporis et sanguinis Christi.—Amalarius, *De Eccles. Offic.*, iii. 24 [*P.L.* cv. 1141].

The order of the Ambrosian Mass, given by Pamelius from a Milan MS., has not one single sign of the cross marked at the above words in the canon (Pamelius, *Liturgicon*, i. 302); nor has the Ambrosian Missal printed, by order of St. Charles Borromeo, at Milan, A.D. 1560; nor the Missal of A.D. 1669; while nine crosses are rubricated shortly afterwards in the prayer, Per quem hæc omnia, &c.; yet Transubstantiation is unequivocally set forth in the Ambrosian rite for the holy sacrifice on Maundy Thursday (see note on p. 26); and among all the Fathers, hardly one can be found who uttered stronger words than St. Ambrose himself, while teaching the newly made Christian to have an unshaken belief in the truth of this great mystery (see note as before). Transubstantiation is a part of that revelation entrusted by Christ to the Church to be kept and taught by her for ever; the five crosses are of the Church's own introduction, neither known of, nor used for centuries after the Apostles' times.

That in the first ages signs of the cross were always made over the elements at the Eucharistic Sacrifice, is

put beyond a doubt by what was noticed above from St. Austin. But, as in all likelihood those signs were fewer then than now, their right places and their numbers could be easily remembered; hence there was no need of setting them down in the ancient codices, the most part of which (97) had very little, if anything, of the rubrics ever marked in them. When, however, devotion had increased these crosses, it became expedient to mark them in the canon in such a manner as to do away with the doubts about their exact number and right places, felt by such scrupulous rubricians as our own countryman St. Boniface, Under this view we can account for the generality of MSS. after the latter half of the ninth century, showing the various signs of the cross to be made at the canon. As

There was a diversity of usage about these crosses,

not even then, nor yet for some four or five centuries later, do we find the very same rubric in respect to the number and places where such crosses should be made in the canon, followed throughout the whole of the Latin Church. There was a variety in practice upon this, as well as on many other ceremonial points, in Western Christendom. Ivo of Chartres expressly tells that in his time, A.D. 1092, such a diversity existed; hence, like our own St. Boniface, he looked to Rome for advice: "De signis autem quæ super oblationem a diversis diverse fiunt, nos ab Apostolica sede potissimum formam sumere decrevimus, unde totius Christianæ religionis ordinem et originem suscepimus."—*Micrologus,* xiv., Hittorp, p. 739. Honorius of Autun (A.D. 1130) distinguishes the crosses at the canon of the Mass into six orders, amounting, in all, to twenty-three signs: Hoc Sacramentum tantum per crucem fit, quia Christus sacrificium Patris in cruce pependit—Sex autem ordines crucum fiunt, &c.—

Gemma Animæ, i. 49, *Ibid.*, p. 1193. Notandum quod per totum canonem viginti et tria signa fiunt—i. 57, *Ibid.*, p. 1195. But, in a few years afterwards, Pope Innocent III., A.D. 1198, reckons no less than seven orders of these crosses, which, summed up together, make twenty-five (98) signs: Sacrificium itaque septem vicibus signatur in Canone . . . Inter has septem vices sacrificium signatur vicibus duabus bis, et duabus vicibus ter, et duabus vicibus quinquies, septima bis et ter, simul omnibus quinquies quinque, quæ sunt simul vigintiquinque.—Innocent, *De sacro altaris mysterio*, v. 14 [*P.L.* ccxvii. 895, 896]. The same number of crosses is marked in the Roman Missal at this day. Notwithstanding the clear way in which the Roman pontiff had enumerated the order and number of crosses, we know that, even a hundred years almost afterwards, there were churches in which it was not the custom to make some of these signs, towards the end of the thirteenth century, when Durand wrote, who tells us: Ideo sacerdos facit cruces, primam super oblatam dicendo: *sacrosanctum Filii Tui corpus:* et secundam super calicem dicendo: *et sanguinem:* tertiam signando seipsum in facie dum dicit: *omni benedictione cælesti.* Alii vero non faciunt præmissas duas cruces.—Durandus (A.D. 1286), *Rationale*, iv. 44.

Amid this liturgical difference, the crosses now made at the words in the canon, *Hostiam puram*, &c., more immediately asking our attention, were not free from variations. To apply to them the remark of Ivo, they were truly among those "signa quæ diverse a diversis fiunt." Out of three of those ancient MSS. of the Missal found in Germany and Swizerland, and collated by Gerbert, the oldest, that of Rheinau, shows none of these five crosses (*Vetus Liturg. Aleman.*, i. 343); and the two next in age, the MSS. belonging to St. Gall (Gerbert, *Monum Vet. Lit. Aleman. Præf.*, sig. b 3; *Iter Alemannicum*, p. 283), have not five, but only

three crosses marked at this passage (*Monum.*, p. 235, part 1); and, as was just now observed, a MS. of the Ambrosian rite exhibits the other crosses of the canon, but not a single one at *Hostiam puram.*

Such was, of old, the variety of practice respecting the (99) rubric of these five crosses, while not the smallest difference can be shown in the teaching of the Church upon the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

Maldonatus's Opinion.

It is a mistake to think Maldonatus disliked these crosses because they seemed opposed to Transubstantiation; the learned Jesuit neither says nor hints anything of the kind, as will be seen from what he observes: Sed potest venire in mentem alicui, non esse rationi consentaneum, ut signa crucis adhibeantur Eucharistiæ post consecrationem. Nam solemus adhibere signum crucis alicui rei ut benedicamus et consecremus illam: nihil autem potest esse sanctius corpore Christi. —Possent tamen defendi ista signa crucis quæ adhibebantur Eucharistiæ jam consecratæ si dicamus fuisse adhibita non ad consecrationem, sed quia nulla erat actio quam non præiret crux. Ac illi quidem auctores, qui solent dicere signum crucis semper adhiberi ad benedicendum, non possunt reddere rationem, cur adhibeatur signum crucis Eucharistiæ jam consecratæ. Sed quia ego existimo, non fuisse adhibitum signum crucis semper ad benedicendum, sed consuetudine Christianorum fuisse usurpatum in omnibus actionibus, possum respondere, quia nulla erat actio Christianorum, quam non præiret crux, ut inquit Tertullianus, inde signum crucis cœpit esse pronomen demonstratum. Itaque Christiani quum volebant aliquid demonstrare, utebantur signo crucis. Quare hoc non debet videri absurdum, quando ostendit hostiam sacerdos; tunc enim quum adhibet hæc signa crucis dicit *Hostiam*

sanctam, hostiam puram, hostiam immaculatam, quasi dicat: *hæc est hostia sancta, hostia pura, hostia immaculata.* —Maldonatus, *De Ceremoniis Tract.* (100) *Disput.*, ii. p. cxlii. (ed. Zaccaria, *Bib. Rit.*, tom. ii. p. ii.). In a note on this passage, Zaccaria informs us: Sequuntur in M. C. hæc: Si tamen ageretur de repurgandis cæremoniis, et ego interessem, putarem expedire, ne ulla signa crucis adhiberentur post consecrationem; hoc enim faceret ad majestatem Eucharistiæ.—*Ibid.*, p. clxiii. However Benedict XIV. might reprove this opinion of Maldonatus by calling it "audax sententia," it would seem that the Pontiff had mistaken that writer's meaning, as was observed by Zaccaria: Tamen est manifestum, gravissimum illum pontificem MS. Maldonati Tractatum non vidisse; ei enim tribuit, quod *existimarit signa crucis fieri ad benedicendam hostiam, et calicem jam consecratum*, quum potius Maldonatus disertis verbis id negarit, atque unam defendendæ hujus consuetudinis rationem in eo, quod crucis signa heic ad benedicendum non adhibeantur, situm esse adseruerit.—*Ibid.* in nota. Whatever feelings Maldonatus showed against these crosses, arose, as must be evident to every one who reads his words on the subject, not from any fear that to the weakest mind, such crosses would become stumbling-blocks in the way of a sound belief in Transubstantiation, but from quite another and very shallow source. Maldonatus could not have been well read in the old writers on the liturgy; were he, never would he have referred, while speaking of the five crosses, to Walafridus Strabo (*Ibid.*, p. cxlii.), who does not so much as glance at them; nor does he seem to have bestowed any trouble in making himself acquainted with ecclesiastical symbolism; had he, it would have taught him that the meaning of the crosses was to uphold the majesty of Christ in the Eucharist. In fact,

These crosses in the canon signify one thing before, quite another thing after the Consecration.

The words themselves of the Liturgy will always afford (101) the truest key to the meaning of such ceremonies as accompany them; with this help, we may easily learn what the Church wishes us to understand by the crosses at the holy sacrifice. These signs of the cross are of two sorts; the first are made before, the second after the consecration. On looking into the mass, we see that the drift of every prayer having a sign of the cross in it, and said before the consecration, invariably shows, and almost always by the use too of the word "benediction," that a blessing is thereby asked from God upon the bread and wine, because they are to be made the flesh and blood of Christ. After the consecration, however, the Liturgy changes its mode of expression: it tells us that what is on the altar has become a victim—pure, holy, and unspotted, the holy bread of eternal life, the chalice of everlasting salvation, the most sacred body and blood of the Son. No blessing is now besought from Heaven upon this victim, for it is Christ himself, the well-spring of all blessing. The Liturgy then teaches us how the crosses before the consecration mean that the bread and wine will be turned into Christ crucified: the crosses after the consecration mean that the sacramental species over which they are made, are no longer bread and wine, but have been changed into the very body and blood of Jesus Christ himself.

Before the consecration, therefore, the sign of the cross is symbolic of blessing and hallowing: after the consecration, it is a symbol of mere indication, that is, a sign pointing out to us the Son of God—a sign telling us to believe with a hearty faith, that what we behold with the eye, on the altar, are no longer the

things they were, but have become, have been changed into, the true body and blood of our Redeemer—a sign bidding us remember the wounds, the throes, the death of him who, through his love for man, allowed himself to be nailed to a cross.

(102) It has been well remarked by Ivo of Chartres, that throughout the whole canon of the mass, there is chiefly made a remembrance of Christ's passion: Notandum autem, per totum canonem Dominicæ Passionis commemorationem potissimum actitari.—*Micrologus*, xvi., Hittorp, p. 740. This brings to mind

Some interesting ritual observances nearly related to these signs of the cross.

Under the same holy feelings which suggested the remark of Ivo, was it, that by the ritual of Salisbury, sacrificing priests, when England was Catholic, were taught to uplift their arms in the form of a cross, on saying the prayer *Unde et memores*, &c., and to keep them so outstretched until making these very five crosses at the words *Hostiam puram*, &c., Deinde elevet brachia sua in modum crucis, &c. *Missale Sarum.* [(Burntisland), col. 617].

The chief reason for a cross being cut and anointed with chrism by the bishop, in the middle of the altar-stone, is, that putting the body of Christ thereon at the holy and unbloody sacrifice of the mass, the priest may remind himself that the very same body was once fastened on a cross: cum sacrificium super crucem in altari cum chrismate a pontifice factam ponitur, quasi Corpus Christi cruci affigiatur. *Gemma Animæ*, i. 98, Hittorp, p. 1208.

To awaken in a more lively manner within the heart of the celebrant the thought of our divine Redeemer's death, then about to be commemorated, not only was a crucifix set before his eyes on the altar, but an

illumination figuring the cross with Christ nailed to it, always preceded the canon of the mass in all old MSS. Honorius, of Autun, observes: Hic in libris crucifixum ideo depingitur, quia per illud passio Christi oculis cordis ingeritur.—*Gemma* (103) *Animæ*, i. 103, Hittorp, p. 1209. Such a pious custom is kept up to the present day, by an engraving of the crucifixion always to be found at the beginning of the canon, in our printed missals. Pope Innocent III., in noticing the same usage, says: In secreta recolitur memoria passionis. . . . Propter quod inter præfationem et canonem in plerisque sacramentariis imago Christi depingitur, ut non solum intellectus litteræ, verum etiam aspectus picturæ memoriam Dominicæ passionis inspiret. Et forte divina factum est providentia, licet humana non sit industria procuratum, ut ab ea littera T canon inciperet, quæ sui forma signum crucis ostendit et exprimit in figura Thau. Namque mysterium crucis insinuat, dicente Domino per prophetam: *signa Thau in frontibus virorum dolentium et gementium*.—Innocent, *De sac. altaris mysterio*, iii. 2 [*P.L.* ccxvii. 840, 841. The reference is to Ezekiel, ix. 4]. But long before the time of this Pontiff, our Anglo-Saxon Church recognised, in this letter, the symbol of the cross. Ælfric, the homilist, says: They marked with the blood of the lamb, on their door-posts and lintels, the letter Tau, that is, the sign of the rood,—and we should mark our foreheads and our bodies with the sign of Christ's rood, &c.—*Ælfric's Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, ii. 267. From the letter Tau being looked upon of old by the Fathers of the Church as a symbol of our Saviour's cross, most likely the T beginning the canon or *Te igitur*, was in general highly ornamented, as may be seen in early missals, and made very large, in token of the cross. In the Leofric Missal, the T is most splendidly illuminated in gold, and so tall as to almost fill the whole side of the leaf (fol. 62) on which it is

limned. In a glorious large folio Salisbury Missal, on vellum, and written out towards the middle of the fourteenth century, now lying open before me, the T is so drawn as to hold within it an illumination of Abraham about to slay his son Isaac.

(104) But, amid all the ritual observances which have ever been used in any kingdom throughout the whole Latin Church, it would be impossible to bring forward one which links the sign of the cross, the altar, and a belief in Transubstantiation, so closely together, as the service for the Dedication of Churches in the English Pontifical, which was followed in this island from the earliest Saxon times, up to the unhappy change in our country's religion, begun by Henry VIII., and completed by his son and daughter.

Our Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and English prelates, in hallowing an altar, signed it with the cross, and anointed it with holy oil, because they believed that upon that stone were to be often wrought the mysteries of the sacrament of life—upon that stone was to be laid the adorable victim, the Son of God. Hence, they called upon the Almighty to sprinkle with the dew of his heavenly unction that altar, and make it worthy to become the spot whereon a hidden strength would convert into the body and blood of the Redeemer, the creatures (bread and wine) chosen for the sacrifice, and, by an unseen change, turn them into the holy victim of the Lamb; for, as the Word was made flesh, so the nature of the oblation, when blessed, would go into the substance of the word.

Postea mittat (*episcopus*) *oleum super altare in medio crucem faciens et super quatuor angulos cum antiphona*, Erexit Jacob lapidem in titulum, fundens oleum. *Ps.* Quam dilecta.

Deum . . . deprecemur ut . . . lapidem hunc ad conficiendum in eo vitæ sacramenta compositum, ita chrismate divinæ sanctificationis perfundat, ut super illud

adorandam Filii sui hostiam ipse benedicat impositam, ipse suscipiat consecratam.

Deus . . . hunc quoque lapidem salutaribus celebrandæ redemptionis mysteriis præparatum rore cælestis unguenti asperge et aromatibus divinæ sanctificationis perfunde, ac (105) munus gratiæ consecrantis super illum sacrificia impone, digneque sic supra quod electas ad sacrificium creaturas in corpus et sanguinem Redemptoris virtus secreta convertat et in sacras Agni hostias invisibili mutatione transcribat, ut sicut Verbum caro factum est, ita et in Verbi substantiam benedicta oblationis natura proficiat, et quod prius fuerat alimonia vita hic efficiatur æterna.—From the *Alet Pontifical* in Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.*, ii. 13 (ii. 251, Bassani, 1788). Martene conjectures this MS. to have been written out towards the end of the eighth century. The same prayers are to be found, almost word for word, in the service "De Ecclesiæ Dedicatione," given by Mr. Maskell, vol. i. pp. 190–191 (225–227), of his valuable *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, from a MS. Pontifical of Sarum use, in the library of the University of Cambridge (*Ibid.*, p. cxix. or cxxxvi.). Thus, then, ministered and prayed a St. Swithin and a St. Dunstan, a martyred Elphege, a St. Wulstan, the glories of our Saxon Church; Lanfranc, and St. Anselm, the English St. Thomas of Canterbury, and, last of all, Archbishop Pole.

Bearing upon the question now before us, there is a ceremony in the Mozarabic missal which may be noticed. After the consecration, the host is broken into nine fragments, which are so arranged on the paten as to form a cross. (*Missale Mozarabes*, ed. Lesley, p. 5, Romæ, 1755) [*P.L.* lxxxv. 118]. But let it be remembered, that the great St. Isidore, who drew up this liturgy, believed and taught Transubstantiation, for he wrote thus on the holy sacrifice: Sacrificium autem quod

a Christianis Deo offertur, primum Christus Dominus noster et magister instituit, quando commendavit apostolis corpus et sanguinem suum priusquam traderetur. . . . Panis enim quem frangimus, corpus Christi est, qui dicit, *Ego sum panis vivus*, &c. Vinum autem sanguis ejus est, et hoc est quod scriptum est: (106) *Ego sum vitis vera*. Sed panis, quia confirmat corpus, ideo corpus Christi nuncupatur: vinum autem quia sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur. Hæc autem duo sunt visibilia: sanctificata tamen per Spiritum Sanctum in sacramentum divini corporis transeunt. — *De Eccles. Officiis*, i. 18, p. 382 [*P.L.* lxxxiii. 750].

After St. Isidore had declared his belief to be, that the "bread and wine, sanctified by the Holy Ghost, pass into the sacrament of Christ's body," no wonder the liturgy of which he was the framer should say, as it does, of the consecrated species: "This is the victim which hung on the wood; this is the flesh which arose from the sepulchre; this is the holy and saving victim by which, O God the Father, the world was reconciled unto Thee; this is that body which hung upon the cross; this is the blood which trickled from the side" of Christ. Hæc est hostia quæ pependit in ligno; hæc est caro quæ surrexit de sepulchro. (*Missale Mozarabes*, p. 207 [502]); hæc est pia et salutaris hostia, Deus Pater; qua tibi reconciliatus est mundus; hoc est corpus illud quod pependit in cruce; hic etiam sanguis qui sacro profluxit ex latere.—*Ibid.*, p. 249 [597].

With the help of this curious observance, in the Mozarabic rite, of arranging the nine particles of the host, we may clear away the great difficulty which has hitherto been felt in—

How is to be understood the Third Canon of the Second Council of Tours,

held A.D. 570, which enacted: Ut corpus Domini in altari non in imaginario ordine, sed sub crucis titulo componatur (Bruns. ii. 226). The greatest (107) liturgical scholars are divided on the meaning of this ordinance. Some behold in it a prohibition to place the holy Eucharist, when kept as a viaticum for the dying, among the images on the altar; others see in it a command to bake the altar-breads with a sign of the cross impressed upon them; one imagines, that by it the host and chalice were directed to be put on the centre of the altar; Mabillon thinks it refers to keeping the Eucharist, not among the sacred vessels in the sacristy, but hung up over the altar, from the cross on the canopy (Mabillon, *Lit. Gallic.*, pp. 92, 93 [*P.L.* lxxii. 164]. With most lowly deference to the opinions of such great writers, I venture to suggest, for the first time, that this canon refers only to the way how those many particles, into which it was then the custom of breaking the host in the Gallican as well as Mozarabic ritual, should be laid on the altar. By this canon, as it seems to me, the particles of the Blessed Sacrament are required to be arranged, not in every way the imagination may suggest, but in the shape of a cross. Such a mode of interpreting this canon is not only warranted by the usages, shown just now, of the Mozarabic rite, which borrowed largely from the old Gaulish liturgies, but meets all the difficulties started against the other ways of understanding it. A curious work, written by a Spanish prelate, named Eldefonso, in the year 845, and printed by Mabillon at the end of his treatise *De Azymo*, from a Vatican MS. [*P.L.* cvi. 883–890], shows the many particles often used, and the many forms of a cross

under which they were distributed by the Spanish ritual of the ninth century.

Looking back, then, upon the liturgical usages of ages and ages flown away, and catching a sight of those various ritual observances followed in different lands, as we gaze about us within the wide fold of God's one true Church, (108) spread as it is throughout so many far-off countries, we cannot but be struck with the fact, that—

The Catholic belief in Transubstantiation gave rise, more especially, to these signs of the cross made over the Holy Sacrifice after the consecration.

As of old, so now, there are those who say to Christ's Church what some of the Jews said unto Christ's self, about what he taught concerning the mysteries of the Eucharist: "This saying is hard, and who can hear it." Such men would fain think that "these crosses, and the doctrine of Transubstantiation, in fact, oppose each other;" but, according to Catholic antiquity, these crosses, and the doctrine of Transubstantiation, beautifully agree with one another. Transubstantiation suggested the crosses; and the crosses were made on purpose to speak forth with all the strength of emphasis that signs can lay upon words, the Church's belief in Transubstantiation.

After beholding all these venerable instances of the Church's love for the sign of the cross, the reader will be puzzled to explain to himself why Protestants of the Establishment should have kept it in Baptism, but leave it out at the Eucharist. While all antiquity lets us know that it deemed no sacrament well and duly administered without this blessed sign, nowhere are we told that it was to be more properly displayed at Baptism than in the sacrament of the altar. Quite the reverse. Baptism has been, and still is, in cases

of danger and necessity, often administered by pouring the water, without other ceremony, or any sign of the cross whatever. Not so with the Eucharist, over which the cross is, and always has been, made; because, thereby, we are more immediately reminded of the death of Christ, which we are particularly bidden to call to mind in this sacrament. Indeed, there have been (109) those who maintained, that when no cross was made, there was no consecration; and, so far, Edward's first book showed a respect for ancient usages,—that it set down two signs of the cross at the hallowing of the bread and wine; but now, the Book of Common Prayer does not order even one. What would the teachers of God's people, of old, have said to such an extraordinary disregard for the emblem of Christ's passion?

The Council of Quercy (A.D. 858) warns the priesthood of France never to outstretch, and take a worldly oath, with that hand which has been anointed with the holy chrism, and which makes the body and the sacrament of Christ's blood out of bread and wine mingled with water, by prayer, and the sign of the cross: Manus enim chrismate sacro peruncta, quæ de pane et vino aqua mixto per orationem et crucis signum conficit corpus et Christi sanguinis sacramentum, abominabile est, ut post ordinationem episcopatus, sæculare tangat ullo modo sacramentum.—*Synod. Carisiaca*, Harduin, *Concil.*, v. 475.

Amalarius (*c.* A.D. 820), the scholar of our own great and learned Alcuin, gives us to understand that in the adorable Eucharist, if no sign of the cross be made, there is no consecration whatever; for, before the remembrance of the mystery of Christ's passion be brought to the priest's mind, the bread cannot become the body of Christ. See p. 66, n. [2].

I need not call the theological reader's notice to the fact that in this passage the drift of Amalarius's argu-

ment goes to show that the sacrificing priest must have the (110) intention of consecrating in view, which is readily brought before him by the Sign of the Cross, which, so far from being looked on as superstitious, has always been deemed necessary by the Church in the consecration of the Holy Eucharist.

(115) But here must be said a few words in

Defence of the Catholic belief in Transubstantiation,

for it has been said that the prayer *Supra quæ propitio* which follows, is irreconcilable with the dogma of Transubstantiation. By putting the prayer, *Supra quæ propitio*, &c., into the mouth of her priesthood at the adorable mysteries, the Church wishes them to understand that the broadest distinction must be drawn between the sacrifice itself and the man who offers it. Notwithstanding the unspeakable holiness of the oblation—Christ—notwithstanding that unbounded love, which the Father has for this his only begotten Son, yet because the difference between the victim Christ, and the priest here below who offers him in sacrifice, is as wide as heaven is from earth—because the best priest among men is liable to, and may be stained with sin, it often happens that while God receives the sacrifice of his Son's body and blood with the warmest tenderness and a smiling countenance, he looks down in wrath upon him whose unclean hands have dared to offer it. Wherefore it is that the Church, in bidding her priests to ask that their sacrifice may be smiled on like those of Abel, Abraham, and Melchisedech, wishes them to soothe and turn away the anger of God from any unworthiness of theirs, at the same time that she thus strives to stir them up, and make them seek to be well-pleasing, by a holy and blameless life, in the sight of God, as were those saintly patriarchs. (116) Take the explanation

which an old liturgical writer, Stephen of Autun (A.D. 1113), gives of it, and there will be no need to imagine there is anything against Transubstantiation in the prayer *Supra quæ propitio*. "Post consecrationem," writes Stephen, "rogamus Patrem ut supra dona prædicta respiciat et accepta habeat. Sed cum Patri Filio nihil sit acceptius, quem propitio et sereno vultu semper sibi Deum æqualem intuetur; quid aliud oramus nisi ut mediante et interpellante Filio nobis Deus fiat placabilis et propitius, et per eum qui sibi placet ei placeamus. Itaque oramus eum per hæc sacrificia nobis miserendo placatum fieri, sicut misertus est patribus, nobis propitiando eorum sacrificiis."—Stephen of Autun, *Tractatus de Sacramento Altaris*, xvii. [*P.L.* clxxii. 1298].

From all that has been brought forwards, do we behold how beautifully "one part of the Church's service harmonises with another; and there is no need to explain away any prayer" which she uses. Now, as in times gone by, can all the daughter-branches of the Catholic Church, being in communion with the mother-trunk—with Rome—"point boldly to their liturgies," whether those liturgies be Gelasian, Gregorian, Ambrosian, Frankish, Gallican, Anglo-Saxon, Mozarabic, German, or of Salisbury, York, Hereford, or Bangor use, "and say that the prayers and the ceremonies, and the observances which they contain, are to be interpreted in an *honest* acceptation, and in their ancient and true meaning," because they all teach one and the same unchanged and unchangeable faith.

(117) While upon this subject, we may notice a few other strictures passed, with no better warrant, by Mr. Maskell upon the Catholic dogma of Transubstantiation. "If we rely," writes that gentleman (*Ancient Liturgy*, second ed. p. cvii.), "as we are bound to do, not upon the unsupported assertions

of late councils of the Church of England, before she had freed herself from difficulties which were sure to follow in their course, her acceptance, though but for a short time, of so great an error as the doctrine of Transubstantiation; but, on the contrary, upon the consent of a thousand years of the Catholic Church, upon the united voice of the fathers of the first five centuries, and more than all, upon the unvaried testimony of the primitive liturgies," &c.

The authorities, and more especially those gathered out of our Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical and liturgical monuments, which have just been set before the reader, show:

1. The assertions in favour of Transubstantiation are grounded upon the authoritative teaching of all antiquity.

2. From the first moment of her being, the English Church has ever avowed her belief in Transubstantiation. Her apostle Pope St. Gregory the Great taught it; the very miracle which that pontiff won by prayer from Heaven in its behalf, was more especially commemorated and read in the Anglo-Saxon Church, as John the Deacon, A.D. 875, (118) tells us in his Life of St. Gregory (p. 43, n.), Quæ autem de Gregorii miraculis penes easdem Anglorum ecclesias vulgo leguntur: St. Beda, Alcuin, Ælfric, all teach Transubstantiation.

3. Amid the crowd of writers in the Western and the Eastern Church, there is not to be found one individual of them all who says that the bread and wine are not changed in the Eucharist; on the contrary, the united voice of the Fathers of the first five, and all succeeding centuries, speaks loudly in behalf of this doctrine: of one of the earliest among them, St. Justin Martyr, we have the strong though unwilling witness of Dr. Adam Clarke, a learned Protestant Dissenter, who allows that St. Justin thus speaks of the

Eucharist, *in some measure* asserting the transformation of the elements.—*A Concise View of Sacred Literature* (i. 97). Indeed, so stubborn is this fact, that the most learned Protestants acknowledge, not in halting, but unqualified words, that the ancient Fathers of the Greek Church taught downright Transubstantiation. Hear what Grabe says on the matter: Hi Patres (Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus, Gregorius Nyssenus, Damascenus) quos nominavi, persuasi erant Spiritum sanctum cœlitus descendentem pani non modo virtutem corporis Christi communicare sicque eundem ratione qualitatum mutare; sed et divina potentia ipsam ejus substantiam in carnem transformare, quæ Christi caro sit, et cum illa quæ ex beatæ Virginis utero prodiit, ac cruci suffixa indeque in cœlum sublata fuit. . . . Sicuti panis quem servator in terris comedit, vi naturalis caloris in carnem ejus vertebatur; et noster panis quotidianus in substantiam corporis nostri transit.—*Grabius* in notis in lib. 5, Irenæi *adversus Hæres.*, c. 2, p. 399. With regard to the Western Church, the meaning of the Latin Fathers, and the Latin liturgies, is so clear, that wilfulness itself cannot help understanding it as teaching Transubstantiation.

(119) 4. The doctrine of Transubstantiation is upheld more than all upon the unvaried testimony of the primitive liturgies, among which, as regards this country, a most overwhelming one is that from the ritual for the blessing of altars, which we have given above from an ancient Anglo-Saxon Pontifical, written out in the eighth century, but drawn up at an earlier period (see pp. 89, 90).

The highest worship must ever be given to the Eucharist.

Transubstantiation is an article of faith; the adoration of the Eucharist at this or that part of the mass

is a rite. The article of faith came from Christ himself, and therefore is as old as Christianity; the rite was instituted by the Church, and therefore came after the doctrine, but so near in time as to be almost coeval with it. St. Ambrose (A.D. 381) speaks of the adoration of the Eucharist as of a ritual observance by no means new in his days: Itaque per scabellum terra intelligitur: per terram autem caro Christi quam hodieque in mysteriis adoramus, et quam apostoli in domino Jesu . . . adorarunt.—S. Ambrose, *De Spiritu Sancto*, lib. iii. c. xi. n. 79. One of the oldest among the MSS. of our Anglo-Saxon Pontificals [Alet], tells us that the Almighty is called upon to pour over the altar-stone the unction of divine sanctification, that He may bless upon it the to-be-adored victim of His Son—lapidem hunc . . . ita chrismate divinæ sanctificationis perfundat, ut super illud adorandam Filii sui hostiam ipse benedicat impositam.—Martene, *De Antiq. Rit. Eccl.*, t. ii. lib. ii. c. xii. p. 251.

As the Latins and the Greeks have all along taught and insisted, so do the very heretical sects themselves in the East, still teach and insist that the highest (that is, divine) adoration, must be yielded to the Eucharist. At a so-named council of Jerusalem, held by many prelates belonging to the schismatical section of the Greeks (A.D. 1672), it was decreed, that "The Lord's body and blood in the mystery of the Eucharist, ought to be honoured in a most supereminent manner, and adored with the highest worship; for the adoration of the holy Trinity, and of the (122) Lord's body and blood, is one." Ἔτι αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου τὸ ἐν τῷ τῆς εὐχαριστίας μυστηρίῳ ὀφείλειν τιμᾶσθαι ὑπερβαλλόντως καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι λατρευτικῶς· μία γαρ ἡ προσκύνησις τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος, καὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου.—*Synodus Ierosolymitana, Decretum* xvii. [Harduin, *Conc.* xi. 253].

The rubric of the Church directs both in the West

and the East, "to bow down, and, after consecration, adore the Host; then expose it to the people, who should adore likewise." "Upon this mode of receiving," writes Mr. Maskell, *Monum.*, p. 126, "I need scarcely remind the reader of the famous passage of St. Cyril, *Catech. Mystag.*, v. 21: and, according to the same feelings, the Church has always insisted upon outward gestures of reverence and awe; not merely by way of decency, as on less solemn occasions, but here as of actual necessity. As St. Augustine declares, 'Nemo Carnem illam manducat, nisi prius adoraverit.'"—*Enar. in Ps.* xcviii. 5. I shall only add a passage from St. Chrysostom, as cited and translated in Ashwell's *Gestus Ecclesiasticus* (Oxford, 12mo, 1663), p. 44 (in which the reader will find this subject well considered): "This Body the wise men reverenced, even when it lay in the Manger, and, approaching thereto, worshipped with great fear and trembling. Let us, therefore, who are citizens of heaven, imitate at least these barbarians. But thou seest this body not in the Manger, but on the Altar: not held by a woman, but presented by the Priest. Let us, therefore, stir up ourselves, and show far greater reverence than those barbarians; lest, by our careless and rude coming, we heap fire on our heads."—*Homil.* xxiv. 5 [*In Ep. ad. Cor.* i. 5], cf. also *Ashwell*, p. 46 and p. 120. If he go on a few lines further in that part of St. Cyril to which Mr. Maskell refers him, the reader will find the holy archbishop (123) of Jerusalem giving particular and minute directions to the communicant how he is to "bow down and adore" the Blood of Christ in the chalice; and if he search still further, and ask why St. Cyril is so earnest in enjoining this bowing down before, and adoring of the Sacrament, the reader will learn it is because the saint fully believed that the bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ in the sacrifice of the altar, as much as the

water was changed into wine at the marriage feast of Cana in Galilee. Among other things, St. Cyril tells the communicant: Εἶτα μετὰ τὸ κοινωνῆσαι σε τοῦ σώματος Χριστοῦ, προσέρχου καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ αἵματος· μὴ ἀνατείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλὰ κύπτων, καὶ τρόπῳ προσκυνήσεως καὶ σεβάσματος.—*Catech. Mystag.* v. 22 (p. 332, ed. Touttée [*P.G.* xxxiii. 1125]); and teaches him to believe in Transubstantiation, assuring him: Τὸ ὕδωρ ποτὲ εἰς οἶνον μεταβέβληκεν, οἰκεῖον αἵματι, ἐν Κανᾷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας· καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόπιστός ἐστιν, οἶνον μεταβαλὼν εἰς αἷμα; εἰς γάμον σωματικὸν κληθεὶς, ταύτην ἐθαυματούργησε τὴν παραδοξοποιΐαν· καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ νυμφῶνος οὐ πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος δωρησάμενος ὁμολογηθήσεται.—*Catech. Mystag.*, iv. 2 (p. 320, *ibid.* [1097]). So undeniable is the truth of the teaching of Transubstantiation as Rome now teaches it, by this Greek Father, that Pfaff, a Continental scholar and no mean Protestant authority, freely acknowledges it to be a fact: Præcipua itaque oblatio, eaque quæ sacrificio Eucharistico essentialis est, juxta Cyrillum dici debet quæ vocatur λατρεία ἀναιμακτὸς, panem vinumque in corpus et sanguinem Christi transmutans; ita ut sacrificium consecratione perfectum sit θυσία τοῦ ἱλάσμου, sacrificium propitiatorium, post consecrationem quoque pro aliis offerendum. Nec negari omnino potest sententiam Cyrilli placitis Ecclesiæ Romanæ proximam esse.—Pfaff, *Dissertatio de oblatione veterum Eucharistica*, xxxviii. 327.

To such as are anywise fond of liturgical studies, perhaps a short explanation may not be unwelcome of

(124) *What the Catholic Church means when she speaks in her rubrics about the breaking of the Host.*

For the fraction of the Host a little before the Pax, the old Salisbury Missal has this rubric: *Sumat*

(*sacerdos*) *Corpus . . . et frangat in tres partes;* the Hereford: *Sumat Corpus Christi . . . et frangat illud*, &c. The Roman Liturgy has "*accipit Hostiam, frangit eam.*" The Ambrosian Missal has [as *Transitorium* for the second Sunday after Pentecost] "Corpus tuum frangitur, Christe, calix benedicitur" [Ceriani, *Notitia* 13]. And, in the beginning of the last century, these words were considered by *viri probitate et zelo præstantes* to be so objectionable, that efforts were made to expunge them from the Milan Liturgy.

(125) Though the Roman Missal has "frangit Hostiam," the Roman Pontifical, in the consecration of the Paten, begs that the benediction of Divine Grace may hallow it, "ad confringendum in ea Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi qui crucis passionem sustinuit." By thus adopting this form of speech, the Roman Church even now approves of it. The learned Roman Pontiff. Benedict XIV. (*De Sacrif. Missæ*, lib. ii. c. xx. p. 3), observes: Itaque si accurate et theologice loquamur, non est dicendum: *Frangitur corpus Christi;* sed *franguntur species:* quamquam theologice etiam dici potest: *frangitur corpus Christi;* nam etiam in Eucharistia idiomatum communicationi locus esse potest.—*Ibid.* 7. Up to the present day is still kept, in the Ambrosian Missal, this very rubric, although not an original part of the rite; for it is not to be found in the earlier MSS., nor before the middle of the eleventh century, as its great upholder, the pious and learned Sassi, allowed in his "Epistola ad Amicum," A.D. 1731.

By putting such a rubric into its Missal, the church of Milan sought to express nothing more than that the accidents or species of the sacrament are broken—*franguntur species;* for, if there be one proof stronger than another to be met with throughout the whole Latin Church, showing that the breaking of the host was meant in the earliest ages to signify the breaking, only in a mystic and sacramental manner, of the body

of Christ in the unbloody sacrifice of the mass, it is to be seen in the Ambrosian (126) Liturgy. In that venerable monument of Catholic belief, we find set down for the fifth Sunday after the Epiphany, this Preface: Æterne Deus. Et tibi hanc immolationis hostiam offerre quæ salutifero, et ineffabili divinæ gratiæ sacramento offertur a plurimis, et unum corpus Christi, sancti Spiritus infusione efficitur. Singuli accipiunt Christum Dominum, et in singulis portionibus est totus. Nec per singulos minuitur, sed integrum se præbet in singulis, &c.—Pamelius, *Liturgicon*, i. 319, *Ambrosianæ Missæ Rit. et Ord.*

With regard to our own English uses, we may be sure that they, too, meant the same thing, otherwise they would never have adopted, as they did, the explanation which St. Thomas of Aquino gave of this very rite, by inserting in their service, for the festival of Corpus Christi, the hymn written by that saint, wherein it is said of the sacrament:

Fracto demum sacramento,
Ne vacilles, sed memento,
Tantum esse sub fragmento,
Quantum toto tegitur.

Nulla rei fit scissura:
Signi tantum fit fractura:
Qua nec status, nec statura
Signati minuitur.

—*Missale Sarum, Sequentia in festo Corp. Christi* [Burntisland ed. col. 458].

The Catholic Church teaches, and has ever taught, that Christ's body is not only uprisen, but has passed into an incorruptible glorified state, never to die, never to feel any suffering again, but to live for evermore joined to his soul and his divinity; therefore, it cannot now be broken limb from limb like man's body quick or dead in this world's being, and still cor-

ruptible, unglorified, unrisen from its grave; Christ's body cannot now be rent, torn asunder like meat hanging up in the shambles. With this truth before their eyes, Catholics, from the earliest to the present times, have spoken as they have while touching upon the Eucharist, and have given us to understand that when they talk of the breaking of Christ's body in the sacrifice, they mean the breaking of the sacramental species, not the dismembering of our Lord's body. If one or two have written otherwise, they are the solitary exceptions which show the general rule. St. Cæsarius of Arles (A.D. 502), in accordance with this belief, observes: Quod corpus, sacerdote dispensante, tantum est in exiguo, quantum esse constat in toto. Quod cum ecclesia fidelium sumit, sicut plenum in universis, ita integrum esse probatur in singulis. . . . Si forte esum panis esurientibus apponeremus, non ex toto perveniret ad singulos, quia particulatim et minutatim portionem suam unusquisque præsumeret. De hoc vero pane cum assumitur, nihil minus habent singuli quam universi. Totum unus, totum duo, totum plures sine diminutione percipiunt: quia benedictio hujus sacramenti scit distribui: nescit distributione consumi.—S. Cæsarius Arelat, Episc. *De Paschate Homilia* v. [*P.L.* lxvii. 1054]. Full five centuries later, the same doctrine, but in other words, is put forth by Guitmond, who tells us: (128) Ejus (Christi) caro in populi salutem partitur, dictum esse non quia partiendo minuatur, sed propter similitudinem fractionis, sicut immolari quotidie dicitur Christus propter similitudinem passionis. Licet enim hæc magni causa mysterii sacerdos quasi dividere videatur, nos tamen Dominum et Salvatorem nostrum, quando corpus ejus venerabile fidelibus distribuitur, non se per singulos dividentem, sed participatione sui in diversos credere debemus venientem. Possumus quoque dicere tantumdem esse in una quasi portiuncula, quantum erat

in hostia tota. Sicut de manna legitur, quia nec qui plus collegerat, habuit amplius, nec qui minus collegerat habuit minus. Ita ergo tota hostia est corpus Christi, ut nihilominus unaquæque particula separata sit totum corpus Christi. Nec tamen tres particulæ separatæ sunt tria corpora, sed unum corpus. Nec ipsæ etiam particulæ a se tanquam plures differunt, quia quod corporis totius una est, hoc et cæteræ sunt. Itaque jam nec plures particulæ dicendæ sunt, sed una potius hostia integra et indivisa, licet officio sacerdotis videatur quasi dividi, propter magnum, ut dixi, mysterium quia ita oportuit celebrari. Similiter et si dentibus, vel aliquo alio modo hæc frangi videntur, intelligimus non hæc frangi: quia nihil aliud in toto quam in qualibet velut particula separata credimus contineri.—Guitmundus, Archiep. Avers. *De Veritate in Euchar.*, lib. i. [*P.L.* cxlix. 1434]. Guitmond flourished about A.D. 1066.

Six hundred years after Guitmond the Norman's time, we light upon another testimony, in some respects the more weighty, because it is afforded by the separated Greeks—a people, who, ever since they cut themselves off from the centre of union (the Papal see), have been the last of all to allow the teaching of Rome to bias them. In a council of Greek prelates, who began their sittings at Bethlehem, but ended them at Jerusalem (A.D. 1672), we find it laid down, "That our Lord's body and blood are (129) sundered and parted, only in their accidents, or the accidents or species, of bread and wine through which they are seen and handled; but that the body and the blood, in themselves, remain thoroughly whole, unbroken, and undivided. Likewise, that under each division and smallest particle of the changed bread and wine, there is by no means a part only of the Lord's body and blood—for no one could say so without blasphemy and impiousness—but the whole and entire Lord Christ, according to his substance, his soul, and his

divinity: that is, true God and true man. *Ἔτι τέμνεσθαι μὲν καὶ διαιρεῖσθαι εἴτε χερσὶν, εἴτε καὶ ὀδοῦσι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου, κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς μέντοι, ἤτοι κατὰ τὰ συμβεβηκότα τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ οἴνου, καθ' ἃ καὶ ὅρατα καὶ ἅπτα εἶναι ὁμολογοῦνται, καθ' ἑαυτὰ δὲ μένειν ἄτμετα πάντη καὶ ἀδιαίρετα. ὅθεν καὶ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία φησί, μερίζεται καὶ διαμερίζεται, ὁ μελιζόμενος καὶ μὴ διαιρούμενος, ὁ πάντοτε ἐσθιόμενος, καὶ οὐδέποτε δαπανώμενος ἀλλὰ τοὺς μετέχοντας (δηλονότι ἀξίως) ἁγιάζων.*

Ἔτι ἐν ἑκάστῳ μέρει καὶ τμήματι ἐλαχίστῳ τοῦ μεταβληθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου οὐκ εἶναι μέρος τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου, βλάσφημον γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ ἄθεον· ἀλλὰ ὅλον ὁλικῶς τὸν δεσπότην Χριστὸν κατ' οὐσίαν μετὰ ψυχῆς δηλονότι καὶ θεοτῆτος. ἤτοι τέλειον Θεὸν καὶ τέλειον ἄνθρωπον. — *Synodus Ierosolymitana* [c. xvii. Harduin, *Conc.* xi. 253].

With such authorities to lean upon, we Catholics, well understanding what we mean, conceive ourselves fully warranted in affirming, that when our rubrics, whether ancient or modern, of the old English, the Ambrosian, or the Roman use, say, concerning Christ's body in the sacrifice of the altar, "frangitur corpus Christi," they were, and still are, intended to signify nothing more than "franguntur species."

(130) But let us get back to our inquiries concerning the belief and practices of our Church, before the coming of the Normans and the liturgical labours of St. Osmund. In going on with our comparison between the religious faith and ceremonial of the two nations, we behold how strikingly they agreed throughout with one another, and both of them with us Catholics of the nineteenth century, and in no one point more so than the Holy Eucharist, which they were accustomed always to keep ready under one kind, and call then, as we call it now,

XII.—The Viaticum or Communion for the Dying.

That the Anglo-Saxon was ofttimes bidden, and ofttimes went to eat of the living and life-giving food provided for him in the sacrifice of the altar, is certain. Then, too, as now, the sacrament was taken fasting,[3] except in cases of extreme illness. At no season, however, did the Anglo-Saxon long to partake of the Holy Eucharist, more than when about to die. At such a moment did he beg to (131) have the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ, and thus go accompanied out of this world by his Lord. Often was Mass[4] said on purpose that the dying (132) man might have the meat from Heaven, to strengthen him as he fared to the end of his road out of this life into another, and therefore then, as

[3] Qui comederit antequam Eucharistiam eat, et postea Eucharistiam sumserit, vii dies jejunet.—*Ecgberti Pœnit.*, Thorpe, ii. 221, note 54.

Qui acceperit sacrificium post cibum, septem diebus in judicio episcoporum.—*Theodori Cap.*, ed. Thorpe, ii. 76. And we enjoin that no one, unfasting, taste of the housel, unless it be for extreme sickness.—*Canons* (xxxvi.) *under Edgar*, Thorpe, ii. 253.

[4] The royal matron, Ethelfleda, spoke the following words to St. Dunstan just before her death : Tibi, autem, quasi singularis amicæ ministro id operis impono, ut tu quoque mane mature mihi facias balneas accelerare, et funerea vestimenta quæ mecum sum habitura præparare, postque corporis lavationem missas celebrare, et mox tempore participationis sacri Sanguinis Corporisque Domini nostri Jesu Christi communionem accipere, ut sic eodem momento viam universæ nationis, Domino deducente, incedam.—*Vita S. Dunstani*, auctore coævo, apud *AA. SS. Maji*, iv. 350.

now, called the viaticum,[5] in the holy communion: but much more often was he houseled out of the time of sacrifice,[6] with the blessed sacrament (133) brought to him from the church, where it was kept at all times, to be ready to be carried, by night or by day, to the sick, lest they should die without it.

But the sacrament so reserved for the communion of the dying, was, as at present, under one kind alone.[7] The vessel, which we now call a pix, employed for thus keeping the Eucharist, was then known under the name of Chrismal,[8] and

[5] Ut cuncti sacerdotes omnibus infirmis ante exitum vitæ viaticum et communionem corporis Christi misericorditer tribuant.—*Excerpt. Ecgberti*, xx., ed. Thorpe, ii. 100. The Communion here mentioned is but under one kind only.

[6] Jam mediæ noctis tempus esset transcensum, interrogavit (Cædmon), si Eucharistiam intus haberent. Respondebant; "Quid opus est Eucharistia? Neque enim mori adhuc habes." Rursus ille: "Et tamen," ait, "affer mihi Eucharistiam."—S. Bedæ, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 24.

Ut presbiter Eucharistiam habeat semper paratam ad infirmos ne sine communione moriantur.—*Excerpt. Ecgberti*, xxii. Thorpe, ii. 100.

And we enjoin, that a priest have housel always ready for those who need it.—*Canons* (38th) *enacted under K. Edgar*, Thorpe, ii. 253.

[7] Missas fieri, atque omnes communicare more solito præcepit, simul et infirmanti puero de eodem sacrificio Dominicæ oblationis particulam deferri mandavit.—S. Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 14. The mention of the "particle" plainly shows communion under one kind.

[8] De Crismale, sive Crismaro.

Alma domus veneror divino munere plena;
Valvas sed nullus reserat, nec limina pandit,
Culmina ni fuerint aulis sublata quaternis,
Et licet exterius rutilent de corpore gemmæ,
Aurea dum fulvis flavescit bulla metallis:
Sed tamen uberius ditantur viscera, crassa

was (134) often made of gold, and richly jewelled. A particular form of prayer[9] was used at the blessing of the Chrismal; by many it was often carried about the person,[10] and to lose it, was a negligence to be atoned for by going through many weeks of penance.[11]

Potis qua species flagrat pulcherrima Christi.
Candida sanctarum sic floret gloria rerum
Nec trabes in templo surgunt, nec tecta columnis.

—S. Aldhelm, *Ep. ad Acircium*, in *Op.* p. 264, ed. Giles.

[9] Consecratio Chrismalis.

Oremus fratres carissimi ut Deus omnipotens hoc ministerium [corporis] filii sui Domini nostri Jhesu Christi gerulum benedictione, &c.—*Leofric Missal*, p. 222. Infunde ut per nostram benedictionem hoc uasculum sanctificetur et corporis Christi nouum sepulchrum spiritus sui gratia perficiatur. Per.—*Ibid.*

The Holy Eucharist consecrated on Maundy Thursday, for, as it is called, the Mass of the Pre-sanctified on the morrow, Good Friday, was kept, under one kind only, in the sacristy, whence it was brought by the deacons: Feria sexta . . . istas orationes expletas (*sic*), ingrediuntur diaconi in sacrario et procedunt cum corpore Domini sine uino consecrato, quod altera die remansit, et ponunt super altare.—*Leofric Missal*, p. 96.

[10] Unde oportet eos qui possunt fideles, monachos maxime, et scientiam habere baptizandi, et si longius alicubi exierint, Eucharistiam semper secum habere.—*Lib. Antiq. de Remediis peccatorum, ex MS. ante annos* 800 *exarato.* Martene, *Vet. Script. et Mon. amp. Collect.*, vii. 39.

[11] § I. Qui autem perdiderit suum crisma, aut solum sacrificium, in regione qualibet, ut non inveniatur, III XL^mas^ aut annum I pœniteat. § II. Qui creaturam perdiderit, hoc est, thus, tabulas, aut scedulam, aut sal benedictum, aut panem novum consecratum, vel aliquid huic simile, IIII dies pœniteat.—Theodore, *Lib. Pœnit.*, xl. in Thorpe, i. 48. These, as well as several other canons of Theodore, agree word for word with those given by the Irish abbot, St. Cumean, who, however, calls it not "crisma," but "chrismale."—*Lib. de Mensura Pœnit.*, xiii. [*P.L.* lxxxvii. 996].

In another canon, of the same work, Cumean again speaks of the chrismal, for carrying about the Holy Eucharist, thus: Qui autem mergit sacrificium, continuo bibat aquam, et quod in chrismale fuerit, sumet sacrificium et emendet per decem dies culpam solutus.—*Ibid.*

(135) The Anglo-Saxons followed, too, the custom of giving

XIII.—The Holy Loaf or Eulogia.

As soon as Mass had been ended,[12] a loaf of bread was blessed, and then, with a knife very (136) likely set apart for the purpose,[13] cut into small

[12] From a canon of a council celebrated at Nantes, most probably about A.D. 800, and preserved by Regino, we learn how this bread was cut up, its pieces put into some fitting vessel, blessed, and given to the people, after mass, on Sundays and holidays: Ut de oblationibus quæ offeruntur a populo, et consecrationi supersunt, vel de panibus quos offerunt fideles ad ecclesiam, vel certe de suis, presbyter convenienter partes incisas habeat in vase nitido, ut post missarum sollemnia, qui communicare non fuerunt parati, eulogias omni die dominico, et in diebus festis exinde accipiant, et illa unde eulogias presbyter daturus est ante . . . benedicat.—Regino, *De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis* [i. 332], ed. Baluze, p. 156 [*P.L.* cxxxii. 256].

Pope Leo IV. (A.D. 850) reminds the pastors of the church, that this blessed bread, or eulogia, is to be distributed on feasts, after mass: Eulogias post missas in diebus festis plebi distribuite.—*Hom.* [*P.L.* cxv. 681].

[13] At Vercelli, in the sacristy of St. Andrew's, is kept a very curious knife, said to have once belonged to St. Thomas of Canterbury, and is supposed to have been used by him, in England, for cutting the holy loaf. It is most likely of Anglo-Saxon workmanship; and was given to this church by Cardinal Guala, or Walo, who came as legate to England in that stirring year, 1216, just before the death of John, and who witnessed the coronation of Henry III. The blade is of an unusual shape, and its handle of boxwood is carved with the occupations of each month through the year, somewhat resembling the same subjects given in plates 5 and 6 of Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*, from an Anglo-Saxon MS. in the British Museum, *Julius A. VI.* This highly curious ecclesiastical Anglo-Saxon knife is figured in Allegranza's *Opuscoli Eruditi*, p. 35 (and Tab. iii. in fine), 4to, Cremona, 1781. [See p. 111.]

Among the sacred ornaments belonging, in the early part of the ninth century, to the church of St. Riquier, in France, was:

slices, for distribution among the people, who went (137) up and received it from the priest, whose hand they kissed.[14] This holy loaf, or eulogia, was meant to be an emblem of that brotherly love and union which ought always to bind Christians together; and its use lasted in England[15] up to the woeful change of religion, and

A.S. Knife.

Cultellus auro et margaritis paratus.—*Chron. Centul.*, ii. 6 [*P.L.* clxxiv. 1248]. There can be little doubt but such a richly ornamented knife must have been for cutting the holy loaf.

[14] Man bows to God's altar, ... he inclines his head to the priests, and desires blessing, and attends their masses in church, and kisses their hand at the passing of the bread, &c.—*Laws of K. Ethelred*, in Thorpe, i. 335.

[15] From the Churchwardens' accounts, a copy of which I have in my possession, of Stanford-in-the-Vale, Berks, we learn that the holy loaf was distributed in parish churches in England, till the end of Queen Mary's reign. "Here followyng," says this curious document, "ys the ordre of the geueyng of the loofis to make holybred with, or of, &c. Inprimis the geuyng of the holy Lofe takith his begynnyng at a pece of Grownde caulyd Ganders, etc. The wholl valure of the cargis cumyth to ij^{d} ob· and yt ys thus devided. They offer to the curatis hand too penyworth of bread with a halfepeny candull or a halffepeny for the candull putte into a Taper and brovght vppe to the preste at the highe altar. Of the too penyworthe of bredde they resserue a halfepenny lofe wholl for to be delyuered to the next that shul geue the

still continues to be kept up in France, as well as in the Greek[16] Church. (138) But it should be remembered that the Blessed Eucharist was called the "sacrifice," the holy loaf, the "creature,"[17]

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holy loofe for a knowledge to prepare a gaynst the sonneday folloying."

The "Panis Benedictio" or form for blessing it, is given at the beginning of the Salisbury Manual.

[16] I have more than once witnessed the distribution of the holy loaf in the Greek liturgy. The antiquity of its use among them is shown by a reference made to it by our own Anglo-Saxon Ecgbercht: Apud Græcos diaconis non licet frangere panem sanctum, nec collectam legere, nec *Dominus vobiscum* dicere. — *Confessionale Ecgberti*, 35, in Thorpe, ii. 161. In talking of this blessed bread, the Anglo-Saxons were always careful to distinguish it from the sacrament of the altar, by the words which they employed in designating each. The blessed bread is called "gehalgodne hlaf," the hallowed loaf; the holy eucharist, "husle," the housel.—*Ibid.* p. 160. Moreover, the holy loaf is called the "creature"; the housel, the "sacrifice," as we see by the next note.

The anonymous, but contemporary, biographer of St. Cuthbert incidentally speaks of this holy bread, and in such a way as leads us to suppose it was then given out, not merely on Sundays, but every day, after mass. Facto jam signo diei horæ tertiæ et oratione consummata, mensam statim apposuit . . . quia enim panis casu aliquo non erat in diversorio, tantùm micas pro benedicto pane congregatas super Mensam constituit.—*S. Cuthberti Vita, auct. monacho Lindisfarnensi coævo*, in *AA. SS. Martii*, iii. 119, note 3.

Giles de Bridport, Bishop of Salisbury, in his constitutions, issued A.D. 1256, requires the parishioners to provide the holy loaf every Sunday: Debent (parochiani) panem benedictum cum candelis, qualibet dominica per annum.—Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 714.

Among the articles sent to King Edward VI. by the commons who arose in Devon and Cornwall to defend the Catholic religion, one was "to have holie bread."—Foxe, *Acts*, &c., ii. 1188 (ed. 1838, v. 732).

[17] § 1. Qui autem perdiderit suum crisma, aut solum sacrificium, in regione qualibet, ut non inveniatur, III XL^mas. aut annum I pœniteat. § II. Qui creaturam perdiderit, hoc est, thus, tabulas, aut scedulam, aut sal benedictum, aut panem novem consecratum, vel aliquid huic simile, IIII, dies pœniteat.—Theodore, *Lib. Pœnit.* xl. in Thorpe, ii. 48.

thus implying that the Eucharist (139) was not a creature, but Christ, who, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, was the creator. Though the holy loaf was but a creature, still because it had been blessed, he who lost his portion of it, was punished, by the discipline of the Anglo-Saxon Church, with a penance of four days' length;[18] and to those who were unwilling to participate in the Eucharist itself, was it forbidden either to go up and take this holy bread from the priest's hand, or to have the kiss of peace given them at Mass:[19] this, however, shows that every one who heard Mass, did not receive the Holy Communion.[20]

[18] See § 11 in the last note.

[19] Qui eucharistiam accipere non vult, ne accedat postea manui presbyteri ad panem, nec ad eucharistiam, nec ad osculum.—*Confessionale Ecgberti*, 35, in Thorpe, ii. 151. To hlafe ne cume, ne to husle.—*Ibid.*, p. 160.

[20] To imagine that, for the first five hundred years, each one of the faithful, who was allowed to stay in church throughout the whole celebration of the holy sacrifice, always received the Eucharist at it, is no small mistake. Not a canon of any council, not a single liturgical monument, can be brought forward to show that any others than unbelievers, catechumens, and known sinners belonging to one or other of the first three stages of public penance, or the excommunicated, were ever made to leave the church before the beginning of the more solemn part of the sacrifice. By far the greater portion, it is true, of Christians always partook of the Eucharist whenever they heard mass; but this they did rather out of devotion, than because any ecclesiastical ordinance obliged them. The Church in early times, it ought to be remembered, acknowledged two kinds of communion, each binding her children together: the less perfect communion,—the communion of prayer or privilege of joining the faithful in the celebration of the liturgy: the perfect and full communion or privilege of joining with the rest of the congregation in carrying an offering to the altar at the time of the

(140) XIV. The Anglo-Saxon Bread for the Adorable Sacrifice of the Mass

was quite different from that which the priest outstretched to the people as they were about to

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offertory, and of afterwards taking, along with the rest, the holy Eucharist, or, in other words, the eucharistic communion. Hence it was, that, besides the public penitents, called "consistentes," or in the last degree of their penance, others were often present during the whole liturgy, but nevertheless did not receive the Eucharist.

The Council of Ancyra (A.D. 314) points to the difference of communion—marking the communion of prayer as the less perfect and full: *εὐχῆς δὲ μόνης κοινωνῆσαι ἔτη δύο, καὶ τότε ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον.*—Can. iv. (Bruns. i. 67), and making the oblation the complete and ultimate communion to be had with the Church: *κοινωνίας τυγχανέτωσαν τῆς εἰς τὰς προσευχὰς. Εἶτα ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ διατελέσαντες ἔτη πέντε, τότε καὶ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἐφαπτέσθωσαν.*—*Ibid.*, Can. xvi. [p. 69].

This *προσφόρα* or oblation, does not mean here the holy Eucharist itself, but the offering of bread and wine brought at that part of the liturgy called, from such a ceremonial, the offertory, by those enjoying the right of communicating at Mass.

In the early ages of the Church there existed a twofold offertory: at the first, which was, in all likelihood, made just before the beginning of the day's service, not merely full communicants, but public penitents, in the last stage of their penance, and also catechumens, might bring their gifts, which consisted either of bread, wine, fruits, vegetables, food in general, for the maintenance of the clergy and relief of the poor; or of wax, oil, and incense, to be burned at the holy sacrifice about the altar; at the second, which took place at that part of the liturgy still called, from that ancient rite, the "offertorium," such only as were in the fullest communion with the Church might go to the altar with this their second offering, which consisted of bread (there is good reason for knowing) made especially for the purpose, with much care, and baked in a round shape (corona), and of a small cruse, containing the better-most sort of wine. To come up with this second offering, was an understood token that the individual intended receiving the holy communion at that sacrifice. The bread was set upon the altar, and so was the wine, after it had been poured through a small

(141) leave the church, in the eulogia. This latter holy loaf, though most likely always of the very best

silver strainer into a double-handled deep cup, called a ministerial chalice, and both were afterwards covered over with a wide veil, consecrated, and given to the communicants.

To say, therefore, in the language of those times, that any one "offered," meant that the individual had the privilege of making the second offering, and of consequently receiving the holy Eucharist: in other words, that he enjoyed all his Christian rights, and was in fullest communion with the Catholic Church.

Again: *δύο δὲ ἔτη χωρὶς προσφορᾶς κοινωνήσουσι τῷ λαῷ τῶν προσευχῶν*—*Concilium Nicænum* (A.D. 325) Canon xi. (Bruns. i. 17). This canon draws a clear distinction between the communion of prayer and the communion of the oblation, and shows that those who were present at the liturgy were not all expected to be communicants of the Eucharist. A communion of prayer alone is strongly marked by another canon of the same council: *μετὰ τῶν κοινωνούντων τῆς εὐχῆς μονῆς ἔστω.*—*Ibid.*, Canon xiii. p. 18.

But a fact from ecclesiastical history will best show how the ancient discipline of the Church, upon this point, was carried out. Certain monks in Egypt, feeling themselves harshly treated by the bishop of Alexandria, Theophilus, go and lay their grievances before the emperor at Constantinople. St. John Chrysostom shows them kind hospitality, but, not having heard their bishop's account of the affair, declines admitting them to full communion, and, consequently, though he lets them attend all the services of the Church, and be present at the celebration of the liturgy, forbids them to receive the Holy Eucharist.—Socrates, *H.E.* vi., *Sozomen*, *H.E.* viii. 13.

If we look back at the usages of the Western or Latin part of the Church we shall find, at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century, the bishops—both at home in their own dioceses, as well as when assembled together in council—striving their best to put down the bad practice which the people, in many places, then began to follow, of leaving the church before the Holy Sacrifice was done. St. Cæsarius of Arles eloquently bemoans, not the backwardness of his flock in coming to the Eucharist, but their haste to leave the church before the mass was over; a proof that the people might hear it without taking the communion: Quantus dolor et quanta amaritudo sit in animis meis, quando vos video Missas ad integrum perexspectare non velle. . . . Nam qui de ecclesia non perexspectatis divinis mysteriis cito discedere cupit, nec metuit, nec erubescit; dupliciter se peccare non dubitet dum divina

(142) kind, still, truly speaking, was household bread, made of flour in which salt had been

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mysteria deserit, et sacerdotem pro se solicitum contristat et despicit. . . . Unius aut duarum horarum spatium patientiam habeamus, donec in illa spiritali mensa animarum cibus apponitur, et sacramenta spiritalia consecrantur. Et quia præmissa oratione dominica benedictio vobis non ab homine sed per hominem datur, grato et pio animo, humiliato corpore et corde compuncto, rorem divinæ benedictionis accipite. . . . Hoc rogamus, ut unius aut duarum horarum spatio, dum lectiones leguntur vel divina mysteria celebrantur, de ecclesia non discedant.—S. Cæsarius, *Homilia* ix., in *Vet. Pat. Biblioth.*, xi. pp. 12, 13, ed. Gallandio.

So wishful, indeed, was St. Cæsarius to keep his people in church, that he ordered the door to be locked after the Gospel, as he had found out that many of them used to go out about this time: Quadem die prospiciens de altario vidit aliquos lectis Evangeliis de ecclesia foras exire, qui verbum beati viri, id est prædicationem dedignabantur in primo cognoscere. . . . Ob hoc sæpissime ostia post evangelia claudi fecit.—*Vita S. Cæsarii*, auct. Cypriano, Fermino et Viventio [ii. 19, *P.L.* lxvii. 1010]. These three bishops, who wrote the life of this Saint, knew him personally.

What they tried to persuade in their sermons, the bishops resolved to enforce with authority by the canons of their provincial councils: that of Agde, A.D. 506, "commands, in an especial manner, all lay folks to hear the mass on the Lord's day, so that the people presume not to go out before the priest's blessing"; Missas die Dominico a sæcularibus totas teneri speciali ordinatione præcipimus, ita ut ante benedictionem sacerdotis egredi populus non præsumat. Qui si fecerint, ab episcopo publice confundantur.—*Concilium Agathense*, canon 47, A.D. 506 [Bruns. ii. 155]. The same thing is laid down by the council of Orleans, held a few years later: Cum ad celebrandas Missas in Dei nomine convenitur, populus non ante discedat quam Missæ solemnitas compleatur; et ubi episcopus non fuerit, benedictionem accipiat sacerdotis.—*Concilium Aurelianense* I, canon 26, A.D. 511 [*Ibid.* ii. 165]. Walafridus Strabo, who died A.D. 849, understood this canon of the council of Orleans as binding the people to stay in church until after the holy communion had been given to those who chose to receive it, for he says: Est autem legitimum tempus communicandi ante ultimam orationem quæ dicitur ad complendum: quia eius petitio maxime pro eis est qui communicant. . . . Statutum est autem Aurelianensi Concilio ut populus ante benedictionem sacerdotis non egrediatur de

(143) sprinkled, and raised by leaven; it came from the oven baked in the usual shape of the people's common food.

Missa. Quæ benedictio intelligitur illa ultima sacerdotis oratio.—Walafridus Strabo, *Lib. de Rebus Ecclesiasticis*, cap. 22 [Hittorp, p. 685].

In Amalarius' time, only catechumens (that is, the unbaptized, in fact, gentiles,—and gentiles still existed) were put out of the church before the gospel, while the re-born, or baptized, remained. Solet vulgus indoctum requirere a quo loco totius officii Missa inchoetur, ut si forte ad totum non occurrerit, possit scire, quibus officiis se presentare debeat sine retractatione. Nobis videtur Missa vocari ab eo loco, quo incipit sacerdos sacrificium offerre Deo, usque ad ultimam benedictionem, id est, ab offerenda usque ad, *Ite, Missa est.* A tempore sacrificii Isidorus officium Missæ deputat, inquiens in libro Etymologiarum: Missa tempore sacrificii est quando Catechumeni mittuntur foras, clamante Levita: Si quis Catechumenus remansit, exeat foras. Et inde Missa, quia sacramentis altaris interesse non possunt, qui nondum regenerati noscuntur. Consuetudo nostra tenet, ut catechumenos repellamus ante Evangelium. Non mihi videtur ex ratione incumbere, cum proculdubio prædicatoribus gentium præceptum sit, ut Evangelium eis prædicent sed sacrificio omnino interesse non possunt, nisi renati, quia neque pro eis rogatur a sacerdote in consecratione corporis Domini, neque confectum illis porrigitur. Sic orat sacerdos pro circumstantibus: *Memento Domine Famulorum famularumque tuarum, et omnium adstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est, et nota devotio.* Nondum renati, infideles vocantur, non fideles. Igitur non possumus animadvertere pro illis constitutam esse orationem in officio confectionis corporis Christi. Quapropter merito eo tempore recedunt, quo sacrificium celebratur.—*De Ecclesiast. Offic.* iii. 36 [*P.L.* cv. 1156].

Honorius of Autun tells us that, because the people had given up the custom of communicating each time they heard mass, the bread for the Holy Sacrifice was made smaller: Fertur quod olim sacerdotes singulis domibus vel familiis farinam accipiebant; quod adhuc Græci servant, et inde Dominicum panem faciebant, quæ pro populo offerebant, et hunc consecratum eis distribuerunt. . . . Postquam autem Ecclesia numero quidem augebatur, sed sanctitate minuebatur propter carnales, statutum est ut qui possent singulis dominicis, vel tertia Dominica, vel summis festivitatibus, vel ter in anno communicarent. . . . Et quia populo non communicante, non

(144) Not so the altar-bread: this was always unleavened;[21] no salt[22] was mingled with the

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erat necesse panem tam magnum fieri, statutum est eum in modum denarii formari vel fieri, &c.—*Gemma Animæ*, i. 66 [Hittorp, p. 1198]. Honorius (A. D. 1130) gives us thus to understand that, in his days, the people had long since ceased to receive the Eucharist each time they went to Mass. When Radulphus Tungrensis, after describing the rites observed at communion, adds, "omnes debent communicare," he does not mean to speak of what lay folks, but of what churchmen, living together in religious community, should do when they hear Mass: for it was to teach the Canons Regular of St. Austin—"ut canonicam vitam professi in canonicis officiis canones servent," that he drew up his little book; and to them did he address it: Religiosis patribus dominis, Priori de Windesham, et suis comprioribus, fratribusque ordinis S. Augustini, &c.—Radulphus de Rivo, *De Canon Obs.* prop. i. [Hittorp. p. 1103].

With regard to the practice of this country, even from the earliest Anglo-Saxon times, there can be no doubt, not all who heard Mass on the Sunday participated in the Holy Communion. In getting the Catholic Faith, the Anglo-Saxons received the discipline of their church from Rome. Now, we know that at the time of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 668), the Romans might or not, as they best liked, take the Eucharist on the Lord's day: Græci omni die Dominico communicant, clerici et laici; et qui in tribus Dominicis non communicaverint excommunicantur, sicut canones habent. Romani similiter communicant qui volunt; qui autem nolunt, non excommunicantur.—Theodore, *Liber Pœnitent.* xliv., &c., ed. Thorpe, ii. 51. So far, however, were those of our forefathers who did not communicate from being driven out of the church before the consecration and distribution of the Eucharist, that, on the contrary, they were forbidden to go away until the whole of Mass was done; for the same Archbishop of Canterbury thus ordained: Cum ad celebrandas missas in Dei nomine convenit populus, non antea discedat ab ecclesia quam missa finiatur, et diaconus dicit: *Ite, missa est.* —*Ib.*, p. 58.

St. Beda, indeed, loudly bemoaned to Archbishop Ecgberht, that in those days, their countrymen went to the Holy Communion but seldom in the year, even the most pious of them: Hi qui inter religiosiores esse videntur, non nisi in Natali Domini et Epiphania et Pascha sacrosanctis mysteriis communicare præsumant, cum sint innumeri innocentes et castissimæ conversationis pueri ac puellæ, juvenes et virgines, senes et anus, qui absque ullo scrupulo controversiæ, omni die Dominico, sive etiam in natalitiis sanctorum aposto-

whitest, (145) the cleanest, the best yet simple flour and purest plain water, of which alone it was composed. (146) That it was fashioned in a thin round form of its own, and bore upon one of its sides either a symbol (147) or letters showing forth the name of Christ our Lord, we are warranted in supposing, from the (148) fact that such a shape, stamped with some holy emblem, was given to the altar-bread during one (149) part at least of the Anglo-Saxon period, in those churches of France[23] that were the nearest to our (150)

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lorum sive martyrum, quomodo ipse in sancta Romana et apostolica Ecclesia fieri vidisti, mysteriis cœlestibus communicare valeant.—Beda, *Epist. ad Ecgberctum Antistitem* [*P.L.* xciv. 666].

[21] Nullus namque presbiter nihil aliud in sacricio offerat præter hoc quod Dominus docuit offerendum ; id est, panem sine fermento, et vinum cum aqua mixtum ; quia de latere Domini sanguis et aqua exivit.—Theodore, *Lib. Pœn.* c. xlviii. § 17, ed. Thorpe, ii. 58.

Panis qui in Corpus Christi consecratur absque fermento ullius alterius infectionis debet esse mundissimus.—Alcuin, *Epist.* lxxv. *Ad Fratres Lugdun.*, i. 107 [*P.L.* c. 289].

[22] Our Alcuin especially notices that salt should not be put into the altar-bread : see p. 19, note 19.

[23] Martene found, at Braine, a pair of very old irons for baking altar-breads, and, from the woodcut of them which the learned Benedictine has given (*Voyage Litt.*, ii. p. 35), I make no doubt they are at least of the tenth, even if not of the ninth century, for they exactly answer the description of the altar-bread as it should be marked, according to a Spanish writer of the ninth century, Eldefonso, who, in the work he wrote A.D. 845, says : Non debent in hostiis scribi nisi unum ex his tribus quale vis, aut $\overline{\text{XPC}}$, aut IHC, aut $\overline{\text{DS}}$, . . . nisi tantum in una parte $\overline{\text{XPC}}$, et in alia crux cum duabus litteris, ita

In uno nempe ferro, tamen magno, possunt quinque simul hostiæ formari, &c.—[*P.L.* cvi. 889]. The impressions on the irons at

shores. This, however, is certain, the Anglo-Saxon altar-bread had a look about it that was not common, and, at an early epoch, drew the particular notice of their unbelieving countrymen;[24] it had, too, a name set apart for itself, and was known as the "oflete."[25]

Moreover, in accordance with the very old and universal custom,

(151) XV.—A Little Water was always mingled with the Wine

in the chalice, before the consecration; and, while he tells us of such a rite, our St. Beda[26] unfolds its beautiful symbolic meaning.

Here, again, nothing new was brought in by St. Osmund; and, under churchmen of the Anglo-

Braine are precisely these, and four breads could be made at a time in them.

[24] The Pagan sons of the Christian king of the East Saxons, Sabert, on asking Bishop Mellitus why he would not reach forth the Eucharist to them, called it "that white bread he used to give their father": quare non et nobis porrigis panem nitidum, quem et patri nostro dabas.—Beda, *Hist. Ecc.* ii. 5.

[25] No priest was ever to dare to say Mass, unless he had all things fitting for the housel; that is, a clean *oflete*, and clean wine, and clean water.—*Canon* (xxxix.) *under Edgar;* Thorpe, ii. 252.

Benedict sent an *oflete*, and commanded Mass to be celebrated with it.—*Homilies of Ælfric*, translated by Thorpe, ii. 175.

[26] Verum quia et nos in Christo, et in nobis Christum manere oportet, vinum Dominici calicis aqua miscetur, adtestante enim Johanne aquæ populi sunt. Et neque aquam solam neque solum vinum, sicut nec granum frumenti solum sine aquæ admixtione et confectione in panem, cuiquam licet offerre, ne talis videlicet oblatio quasi caput a membris secernendum esse significet, et vel Christum sine nostræ redemptionis amore pati potuisse, vel nos sine Christi passione salvari, ac Patri offerre posse confingat.—Beda, *In Lucæ Evang.* vi. 22 [*P.L.* xcii. 597].

Saxon stock,[27] we find the sacrificial bread and (152) wine controlled by the very same liturgical rule as afterwards, when those of Norman blood succeeded to the ecclesiastical sway of this land.[28]

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[27] No Mass-singing may be without those three things—that is, ofletes, and wine, and water. The wine betokens our Lord's throes, which he for us went through; the water the people, for whom Christ let his blood be shed.—Ed. Thorpe, ii. 406. Very likely these altar-breads or ofletes, were often made by the Anglo-Saxon nuns. That they used to be prepared by religious women, at the period, on the opposite shores of France, we know from various sources. In the "Life of St. Vandrille," abbot of Fontenelles, not far from Rouen, its writer, the holy man's contemporary (*c.* A.D. 895), among other miracles, relates one which happened to a nun as she went to the fire for the purpose of baking altar-bread, holding in her hand the peculiar kind of irons made for such a work: Accessit ad ignem, ferroque quo imprimendæ ac decoquendæ erant oblatæ, arrepto, mox nervi manus ejus dexteræ contracti sunt, ac oblatorium quod sponte susceperat, invita, vi agente divina, retinuit.—*AA. SS. Julii*, v. 290, note 53.

[28] Archbishop Lanfranc, in the statutes which he revised for the Benedictine order in England, gives minute directions for the baking of the obleys.—Cap. vi. *De Sacretario seu Sacrista*, in Reyner *Apost. Bened. Append.* p. 236. Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick (*c.* A.D. 1090), in his very interesting though short treatise "De Usu Ecclesiastico," tells us that among the things which every priest should have, are a box with altar-breads or obleys, and irons for baking them: Hæc sunt utensilia sacerdoti oportuna . . . pixis cum oblatis et ferrum eorum.—[*P.L.* clix. 1001], p. 59. St. Udalric calls this iron instrument, with which the hosts were baked: Ferramentum characteratum.—*Consuet. Cluniac*, iii. 13, De Hostiis quomodo fiant [*P.L.* cxlix. 757].

The coin-like form in which Ernulf, Bishop of Rochester (A.D. 1115), tells us the altar-breads were at that time made, readily gives us to understand that they must have been round, thin, flat, and like a piece of money, stamped with some impress: Ibi panes quotidianos comederunt, de genimine vitis biberunt. Nos in forma nummi panem accipimus, vinum aqua mixtum potamus.—[*Ernulf*, Letter to Lambert about Communion; D'Achery, *Spicileg.* ii. 431.] Honorius, of Autun, who wrote his beautiful work A.D. 1130 (*i.e.* but a few years after Ernulf), at the same time as he tells us that the hosts of the Eucharist were then made in the shape of money—Panis

(153) The altar-breads were still unleavened, round, white, baked within irons fashioned for the purpose, (154) being stamped with the figure or the

in modum denarii formatur—assigns the following as a reason why they should bear stamped upon them an image and superscription indicative of our Lord: Ideo imago Domini cum litteris in hoc pane exprimitur, quia et in denario imago et nomen imperatoris scribitur.—*Gemma Animæ*, i. 35 [Hittorp, p. 1190].

But the obley, as it used to be thus fashioned in these parts of the Catholic Church, is well described by a canon of a provincial synod, held the middle of the fourteenth century, in the Isle of Man: Hostia de frumento sit rotunda et integra, et sine macula, quia agnus extitit sine macula, &c., unde versus:

> Candida, triticea, tenuis, non magna, rotunda,
> Expers fermenti non mista sit hostia Christi,
> Inscribatur, aqua non cocta sed igne sit assa.

—*Constit. Synod. Sodorensis*, A.D. 1350, in Wilkins, *Concil.* iii. 11. In the last line of these verses, I have not followed the punctuation of Wilkins, and adopted by Mr. Maskell, who quotes them (*Ancient Liturgy*, p. 33), both of whom read thus: "Inscribatur aqua"—a way of pointing against the sense of those verses. The meaning is: "Let the host be inscribed, and not boiled in water but baked with fire"; how could a host be inscribed with water? Martene, from a MS. he found at Molême, has given another and a better reading of these verses, in the second of which instead of "non mista," we have "non salsa."—*De Ant. Ecc. Rit.*, lib. i. cap. iii. art. vii. p. 117.

I have in my possession a small piece of English stained glass done towards the end of the fourteenth century, on which are figured a chalice and host; and the latter is inscribed with IHC, and has scroll-work above and below these letters.

So careful were our old English divines in teaching that the altar-bread should be made of nothing but what was truly wheaten, that John de Burg (A.D. 1385), rector of Colingham, Nottinghamshire, and chancellor of Cambridge University, moots the question whether obleys formed from starch, which was in those days wrought out of no other plant but wheat, could be used in the Holy Sacrifice: Panis enim consecrandus debet esse triticeus. . . . De pane facto ex amido numquid confici poterit dubium est, quia forte non est eiusdem speciei cum farina communi triticea: ideo non sine peccato ille qui præparat hostias consecrandas tali dubio se exponit, faciendo scilicet

name of our Divine Lord; and the clerks who had the making of them, were bidden to array them-

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eas de amido.—*Pupilla Oculi*, iii. *De mat. Cong. Sac. Eucharist.* fol. xvi. Strasburg, A.D. 1516.

That "almonds" have, in connection with the sacramental bread, ever been spoken of (though Mr. Maskell, without naming his authority, says as much, *Anc. Lit.*, p. 33), is what I had never before heard.

From the decrees then sent forth by our national synods, from the writings of our most learned churchmen, both before and after the days of St. Osmund, the reader will see that the bread for the Eucharist has, in this country, ever been unleavened, and was all along formally required, by the highest ecclesiastical authorities in this land, to be so made. Yet, in spite of such evidence, Mr. Maskell does not hesitate to say: "But, whether it be leavened or not has always been held to be indifferent, and a matter, either to be left open and to individual discretion, or decided, as in the above verses, by a legitimate authority," &c. (*Ib.*, p. 33). That the use, in the Eucharist, of leavened or unleavened bread, ever was "a matter to be left to individual discretion," at any age, or at any quarter of the Church, has not been shown, because it cannot, by Mr. Maskell, to whom the best answer on this subject are the words of an eminent divine in his day, and some time chancellor of an English university, our old above-named countryman, John de Burg, who says: Debet etiam panis consecrandus esse azymus, id est, sine fermento, in signum quod Christus fuit sine fermento maliciæ. Unde sacerdos scienter consecrans panem fermentatum, quamvis conficeret, tamen graviter peccaret.—*Pupilla Oculi*, iii. *De mat. Cong. Sac. Euch.* fol. xvii.

Mr. Maskell speaks approvingly of St. Anselm (*ib.*); I, too, will say: "Let us add to all this the opinion of one of our own archbishops:" Apertissimum tamen est, quia melius sacrificatur de azymo, quam de fermentato; tum quia valde aptius, et prius et diligentius fit; tum quia Dominus hoc fecit.—S. Anselm, *De Az. et Ferment.*, ii. 135 [*P.L.* clviii. 542].

In her use for her communion-service of leavened, common, baker's bread mixed with salt, and adulterated with alum, potatoes, chalk, and other unbecoming things, as the case may be, the Protestant Establishment of this country shows, in the present, as well as in all her other novelties, how widely she has swerved from those olden paths in which our forefathers loved to walk; and all who search but a little for the ancient road, will soon see her deviations through the cloud of dust with which her friends strive to hide them.

selves in a surplice while at such a work.[29] Instead of (156) "oflete," these breads now, however, came to be called by the name either of "obley,"[30] or of "singing-bread."[31]

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[29] That the Anglo-Saxons and the English were alike watchful in having the altar-breads made in the most becoming manner, is shown by the synodical enactments for the clergy, under both people. With regard to the Anglo-Saxons, one of their decrees runs thus: We also command that the ofletes (oflætan) which, in the Holy Mystery, ye offer to God, ye either bake yourselves, or your servants before you, that ye may know that it is cleanly and neatly done; and the ofletes, and the wine, and the water destined for the offering in the Mass-singing, be minded and preserved with all cleanness and earnestness, &c. — Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 404. And to the clergy of the diocese of Lincoln, in the thirteenth century, their bishop says: Cura diligentior adhibenda est, ut scilicet oblatæ de puro grano frumenti fiant. Ministri ecclesiæ induti superpelliciis in loco honesto sedeant, quando oblatas faciunt. Instrumentum, in quo oblatæ coquændæ sunt, cera tantum liniatur, non oleo, vel alio sagimento; oblatæ honestum candorem et decentem rotunditatem habentes, supra mensam altaris offerantur.—*Constit. Willielmi de Bleys*, A.D. 1229. Wilkins, *Concil.* i. 623.

[30] The king shall offer an obley of bred laid uppon the patent of saynt Edward his chalice, with the which obley after consecrate the king shalbe houselled, &c.—*Device for the Coronation of King Henry VII.*, in *Rutland Papers* (C.S.), p. 21.

[31] Besides "obley" the unconsecrated host had another popular name at the beginning of the sixteenth century—"singing-bread." Next the said altar there was an almery set wherein singing-bread and wine were usually placed, at which the sacristan caused his servant, or scholar, to give attendance, from six of the clock in the morning, till the high Mass was ended, out of which to deliver singing-bread and wine to those who did assist and help the monks to celebrate and sing Mass.—*The Antiquities of Durham Abbey*, p. 2 (Surtees Society).

Paid for howseling brede syngyng brede and wyne v^{d}. ob.—*Accompt of the Prioress of Pray*, A.D. 1487, Dugdale, *Mon. Anglic.*, iii. 359. By this we learn that the small breads, which we now call "particles," for the communion of the people, were anciently termed "houseling bread"; while the larger breads to be used for the Sacrifice, took the name of "singing-bread," most likely because the Mass was so often sung. An English writer, of the early part

(157) With regard to the wine, a little water[32] continued to be always mingled with it after it had

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of the sixteenth century, tells us: Floure that was never grounde with mylstone may make no syngynge brede.—Horman, *Vulgaria*, fol. iii. b. (London, R. Pynson, 1519). Even after the change of religion, and in Elizabeth's reign, there still lingered a respectful feeling with regard to the Catholic usage of having a particular kind of bread got for the Eucharist; for, among the "Injunctions given by the queen's majesty," there is one which orders that "the sacramental bread be made and formed plain, without any figure thereupon, of the same fineness and fashion round, though somewhat bigger in compass and thickness, as the usual bread and water, heretofore named singing cakes, which served for the use of the private mass."—Wilkins, *Concil.*, iv. 188.

The little boxes for keeping the altar-breads in, when they were cut, are frequently noticed in our old inventories of church ornaments: Pixis i ad oblata, Wordsw., *Salisb. Proc.*, 180; Pixis depicta ad oblatas, *Inv. in Cap. Carnariæ in cim. S. Pauli Lond.*—Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 330; Pixides ligneæ ad oblatas, *in cap. S. Radegundis*, *ibid.*, 331; "Pixides argenteæ ad hostias," are distinguished from the "Cuppæ ad Corpus Domini" in the list of ornaments belonging, A.D. 1315, to Canterbury Cath.—[Wickham Legg and St. John Hope, *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury* (London 1902), p. 73.]

[32] St. Osmund's countryman and contemporary, John of Avranches, and, at last, Archbishop of Rouen, directs, in his book of the ecclesiastical offices, that, on festivals, the chanter (on common days, the acolyte) should administer the water to be mingled with the wine: Cantor aquam linteo coopertam in festis diacono deferat, quam diaconus vino misceat; aliis diebus ministrat eam acolythus. —*De Off. Eccl.*, p. 19, Rotomagi, 1679 [*P.L.* cxlvii. 35]. By St. Osmund it is prescribed that one of the taper-bearers should bring the bread, wine, and water to the place near the altar, where they were arranged for the Eucharist. —*Use of Sarum*, i. 68, xxxix. (66).

Among the sacrificial appliances which, according to Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick (c. A.D. 1090), every priest ought to have, were—ampulla cum vino, et altera cum aqua [*P.L.* clix. 1001].

These cruets were often most beautifully wrought, and sometimes had precious stones set in the lid, of a colour as to show which held the water, which the wine. John de Hothum, Bishop of Ely (A.D. 1336), gave to that church—calicem aureum cum duobus urceolis aureis, et in urceolo pro vino impositus erat lapis preciosus vocatus

(158) been poured into the chalice at Mass, so that in such a ritual observance, the Normans and Anglo-

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Rubye, et in urceolo pro aqua, optima margarita.—Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 648.

Most likely the jewels and the pearls on the cruets bestowed upon St. Alban's minster by Petronilla de Benstede, answered the same purpose: Optulit etiam duas fialas, quarum corpora cristallina sunt, orificia vero et pedes argentea, quæ gemmis et margaritis ornantur. —Dugdale, *Mon. Anglic.* ii. 221.

Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, bequeathed (A.D. 1400) "to my lord the King an image of the Blessed Virgin, with two cruets, silver and gilt, made in the shape of two angels."—*Test. Vet.*, ed. Sir H. Nicolas, i. 154.

Formerly, as now, in England, there used to be taken, along with the chalice, to the altar, a little spoon with a very small bowl, for measuring and letting fall into the wine, the few drops of water to be mingled with it at the holy sacrifice. These spoons were of the same precious metal (gold or silver) as the chalice, and often adorned with gems. At St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle (A.D. 1385), there was a gold chalice, belonging to which was a spoon, likewise of gold, ornamented with a large pearl at the head of the handle: Una calix nobilis aureus, in cujus pede deficiunt quinque lapides, duo rubeis baleis et unus saphirus, cum una patena aurea, cum perlis et lapidibus preciosis ornata, et cum uno cochleare aureo habente unam margaritam grossam in summitate ejusdem.—Dugdale, *Mon. Anglic.* viii. 1365.

Nicholas de Shirburn bequeathed (A.D. 1392) silver to make one of these chalice-spoons: Lego altari Sanctæ Annæ unum er pyk de argento ad faciendum j cocleare ad calicem.—*Testamenta Eboracensia*, (Surtees Soc.), i. 172.

An *Ordo Missæ Pontificalis*, published by Georgi, from a manuscript of the fourteenth century, in the Vatican Library, says: Debet portare ad altare calicem cum patena et hostiaria desuper, ac quodam parvo cocleari, cum quo debet poni aqua in calicem, &c.—*Lit. Rom. Pon.* iii. 577. This little spoon is not used now at Rome.

But a very little water was to be put into the chalice along with the wine: Vinum sani saporis, non acidum, nedum acetum, in calice infundatur, aqua modica vino admisceatur, ita quod a vino absorbeatur.—*Constit. Willielmi de Bleys* (c. A.D. 1229), in Wilkins, *Concil.* i. 623; and great stress was laid on the duty of getting the purest wine for the sacrifice: Caute etiam provideant sacerdotes ecclesiarum et rectores, ut vinum habeant purum et incorruptum, et quod non sit acetum ad sacramentum altaris conficiendum.

(159) Saxons not only agreed with one another, but with all Catholic antiquity, which we reverently

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Provisuri etiam sint nihilominus quod major pars vini, longe minor aquæ, misceatur in calice, ut aqua a vino absorbeatur : sufficit enim quod ibi sit aqua.—*Concil. Oxoniense*, A.D. 1222, in Wilkins, *Concil.* i. 594. A like enactment was made in a provincial synod, held in the Isle of Man : Et summopere præcaventes ne vinum cum quo celebratur, sit corruptum, vel in acetum commutatum, et quod potius sit rubrum, quam album. In albo tamen bene conficitur sacrum. —*Constit. Synod. Sodorensis*, A.D. 1350 ; in Wilkins, *Concil.* iii. 11.

A few years afterwards, John de Burg, in treating of the colour and quality of the wine for the adorable sacrifice, observes : Materia necessaria calicis est vinum de vite, id est, non vinum artificiale seu de alio fructu compressum. Nec refert an sit album an rubeum, spissum vel tenue, dum tamen sit verum vinum, quoad effectum sacramenti ; quamvis vinum rubeum sit præeligendum propter expressionem et similitudinem sanguinis. —*Pupilla Oculi*, iii., *De mater. cong., Sac. Euch.*, fol. xvii.

On this subject, Mr. Maskell makes an opportunity to compliment his own Protestant Establishment, for keeping up "the old and much more suitable custom of consecrating red wine" (*Ancient Liturgy*, p. 33, note), and, at the same time, to blame her whom he takes upon himself to designate "the modern Church of Rome," for dropping such a usage, by her employment of white wine at mass. To call that Church founded by the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and governed by a St. Eleutherius and a St. Gregory the Great, a "modern Church," is, to say the least, an utter forgetfulness of ecclesiastical history, both with regard to the world in general, and our own England in particular. But let that pass. Mr. Maskell's praise, like his blame, is, in this instance, quite misapplied. Neither in the Roman missal, nor the Book of Common Prayer, is there a rubric which bespeaks a preference for one or other of the colours in the wine. If, indeed, one may rely upon the assurances of well-informed Protestants, white is just as often used, in their private ministrations, for the communion of the sick, as red wine—nay, oftener.

When England was all Catholic, she gave a preference to red wine, because its blood-like tint helped to show forth her belief in Transubstantiation. Would to heaven the upholders of Protestantism, while they boast of following, in this instance, one of our old national church traditions, did, by their teaching, acknowledge its meaning too, and still prefer red before white wine, as the English Catholic priest did in olden times, "propter expressionem et simili-

(160) follow to the present day. Another liturgical practice common to the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans, was the use of

The Eucharistic Reed.

Believing, and openly avowing—as the Church does now, and has always done from the very (162) beginning—that both the flesh and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ are received as much and as wholly under one as under the two kinds,[33] and (163) never allowing any person to receive the blessed Eucharist out of the time of Mass, but in one kind

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tudinem sanguinis,"—to use the words of a Catholic rector of a Catholic parish in old Catholic England. John de Burg, author of *Pupilla Oculi*, quoted just now.

[33] Speaking of the Eucharist, which must have been under one kind only (for it had to be put along with Saints' relics, within a little box, and enclosed beneath the altar, at the dedication of a church), the Council of Calchuth says, "it is the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ," as we have seen just now, p. 36, note. In the same manner, the Eucharist, kept from Maundy Thursday till the day following, Good Friday, is, in the Gelasian sacramentary, called the body and the blood of Christ: venies ante altare, ponis in ore calicis de ipsa hostia . . . et reservant de ipso sacrificio in crastinum, unde communicent.—*Sac. Gelas.*, Muratori, i. 558. Ingrediuntur diaconi in sacrarium. Procedunt cum corpore et sanguine Domini quod ante die remansit, &c.—*Ibid.*, 562. The sacrament is here mentioned, not in the plural, but in the singular form of speech: and though under one kind, that of bread, is called, however, "the body and the blood." Among the canons and decrees gathered by Regino, the abbot of Prüm (A.D. 892), into one work, at the wish, and for the use, of Rathbode, Archbishop of Treves, we find it forbidden to put the Eucharist into any laic's hands: Nulli autem laico aut feminæ eucharistiam in manibus ponat (presbyter), sed tantum in ore cum his verbis: Corpus et sanguis Domini prosit tibi ad remissionem peccatorum, et ad vitam æternam, &c.—Regino, *De Ecc. Discip.*, i. 99, p. 102, ed. Baluze [*P.L.* cxxxii. 228].

alone; still the Anglo-Saxons permitted the faithful who wished it, to partake of the consecrated chalice also, if they made their communion at the holy sacrifice. But even then, the cup which held the blood of our Redeemer, and provided for the "confirmation," as it was called, of those who had (164) already eaten his body, was not let go into the hands of the communicants, nor sent about from one to the other.[34] Being somewhat bigger than that

[34] As the council of Clovesho laid an injunction upon all the clergy of this land to follow the ritual of Rome, more especially for the celebration of mass (Wilkins, *Concil.* i. 96), we may be sure that, in the dearth of our national documents, we have only to look at the *Ordines Romani* of those times, and we shall behold what was done by our brethren of the Anglo-Saxon period. The way of giving the blood to the people is thus described by the *Ordo Romanus Primus*, wherein we see, that the contents of the chalice, after the Pope and his ministers had taken of it, were poured into a large cup (scyphus) and received by the people, like the clergy, through a reed (pugillaris) brought to them by the archdeacon: Deinde archidiaconus accepto de manibus illius (episcopi) calice, refundit in scyphum, et tradit calicem subdiacono regionario, qui tradit ei pugillarem, cum quo confirmat populum (Mabillon, *Museum Ital.* ii. 14). For this purpose, after the sacrificing priest had drunk of the chalice, what was over the deacon poured into a much larger cup holding unhallowed wine, and from this the people were "confirmed," that is, allowed, by way of compliment to the sacrament, to taste of the blood thus mingled with wine, by drawing up a small sip through the reed made of gold, silver, iron, ivory, or glass, as it might be: Sed ipse pontifex confirmatur ab archidiacono in calice sancto: de quo parum refundit archidiaconus in majorem calicem, sive in scyphum, quem tenet acolythus, ut ex eodem sacro vase confirmetur populus: quia vinum etiam non consecratum, sed sanguine Domini commixtum sanctificatur per omnem modum.—*Ordo Romanus*, iii.; *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 60. This rite is more clearly expressed in another old *Ordo*, thus: Ipse autem diaconus tenens calicem et fistulam, stet ante episcopum, usque dum ex sanguine et corpore Christi, quantum voluerit, sumat, etc.—Hittorp, p. 10. Not many years

(165) used by the sacrificing priest, this ministerial chalice—so it was termed—had two handles, by which it could be held by the deacon who carried it down from the altar to the people kneeling at its foot; and each one drank of its hallowed contents, not by putting his lips to its brim, but through a long narrow pipe or hollow reed,[35] made of gold,

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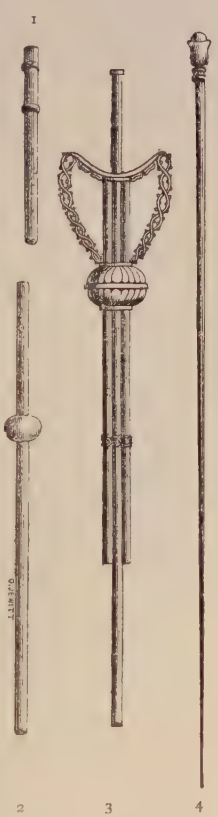
ago, such ministerial chalices, with double handles, might be met with in the treasuries of great churches on the Continent. Felibien, in his *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Saint Denys*, p. 541, planche iii., has figured two of them, the bowl of one being hollowed out of an oriental agate, that of the other, crystal; both mounted in silver gilt, and studded with precious stones.

However great the number of communicants, but one chalice was consecrated at the sacrifice; hence, when our St. Boniface wrote from Germany to Pope Gregory II. (A.D. 726), asking if two or three chalices might be put on the altar, the pontiff answered: In missarum solemniis illud observandum est, quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus sanctis suis tribuit discipulis. *Accepit namque calicem dicens: Hic est calix novi Testamenti in meo sanguine; hoc facite quotiescumque sumitis.* Unde congruum non est duos vel tres calices in altario ponere, cum missarum solemnia celebrantur.—S. Boniface, *Epist.* xxiv. in *Op.* i. 65, ed. Giles.

[35] Mention is often made of these Eucharistic reeds in old documents. Desiderius, Bishop of Vienne in the sixth century, writes: Ecclesiæ suæ obtulit cannas undecim deauratas, pensantes libras quinque.—Labbe, *Bib. Noviss. MSS.*, i. 242. In his Chronicle of St. Riquier's, Hariulf tells us that Abbot Angilbert (A.D. 754) provided the church, among other things, with "canna argentea i. eburnea una."—[*Chron. Centul. P. L.* clxxiv. 1248.] Along with the other sacred vessels which the acolytes of the pope had to carry to the church wherein he was going to sing mass, were: calicem, scyphos, pugillares (alios argenteos) et alios aureos.—*Ordo Rom.*, in Mabillon, *Museum Ital.*, ii. 5. These reeds are sometimes called "siphones," "pipæ," and "calami"; and as late as A.D. 1200, they were of glass in the cathedral of Pavia: Diaconus in sinistra parte altaris tenens calicem cum sanguine Christi, confert omnibus sumere volentibus cum quadam vitrea virga.—[Clericatus, *Decisiones Sacramentales*, i. *Ven. Euch. Sacr.*, p. 37. Venet. 1757.] One of the articles in the chapel belonging to Philip, Count of

(166) silver, or ivory, which was often, though not always, fastened on a pivot to the lower inside part of the sacred vessel.[36] The golden reed is (167) used to this day by the Pope whenever he solemnly pontificates, and by the cardinals, who serve him as deacon and sub-deacon, both of



1. Old reed used by the Pope.—*Rocca, Op.* i. 14.
2. A reed in the treasury of Monte Cassino.
3. The form of the present reed used by the Pope.
4. The golden needle, with a sapphire at the head for drying the inside of the reed after Mass.

Flanders (A.D. 1191), was "fistula argentea." —*Cart. Phil. Fland.*, in Martene, *Thes. Anecd.* i. 639. As late as the middle of the last century, the silver reed was used at the abbey of Cluny, and at that of St. Denys, for communicating the mysteries of the altar, under both kinds, on holidays and Sundays, as we learn from De Moleon's *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 149.

[36] Amid the numerous rich gifts of church plate bestowed by Charlemagne upon St. Peter's, at Rome, there were: Calicem majorem cum gemmis et ansis duabus pensantem libras LVIII. Item calicem majorem fundatum cum syphone, pensantem lib. XXXVI. — Anastasius, *Liber Pontificalis*, in *Vita Leonis III.* [ed. Duchesne, ii. 8.] This latter "calix cum syphone," we may presume, had the syphon or reed soldered within it. Three chalices wrought after such a fashion, with a reed fastened inside of each, Lindanus tells us he himself met with, no further back than A.D. 1559: Calicibus canna est ferruminata, a fabreque inserta, unde Christi sanguinem liceret sugere, non bibere. Tales duos vidimus Bolzvuardiæ Frisiorum. Habet et monasterium Thabor, et Bergham poculum simile, sed argentea (nam illi sunt stannei) fistula, veterem in ritum factum. — *Panoplia Evang.*, iv. 56, fol. 341b. (Paris, 1564).

whom communicate along with the supreme Pontiff under the two kinds.[37] The woodcut shows (168) the old as well as the present form of the golden reed, and of the golden needle for drying the inside of it after it has been rinsed with wine and water.

The employment for such a sacred rite of this sort of reed lasted here in England until communion under both kinds ceased to be given to the laity.[38]

Though houseled generally under both kinds, often, however, during life, and always at the hour (169) of death—if then so happy as to have the rites of the Church—did

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[37] Georgi, *De Lit. Rom. Pontificis*, iii. 600. The two chain-like ornaments projecting from the third golden reed in our woodcut, are thus noticed in an "Ordo Missæ Pontificalis," published from a manuscript of the fourteenth century by Georgi (*ib.* p. 563): Dominus Papa recipit ipsum calamum, et ponit duos digitos in duabus auriculis, quas debet habere, et cum magna reverentia sumit de sanguine Christi cum dicto calamo.

[38] Among the things for divine service left by Bishop Leofric to his cathedral of Exeter, was, 1 silfren pipe.—Kemble, *Cod. Dip. Anglo-Saxonum*, iv. 275. These reeds were also numbered by the Normans in this country among the sacred utensils, for such articles formed part of the treasures which William Rufus, in carrying out the wishes of his dead father, distributed amongst the greater churches and monasteries of England: Cruces, altaria, scrinia, textos, candelabra, situlas, fistulas, ac ornamenta varia, gemmis, auro, argento, lapidibusque pretiosis redimita, per ecclesias digniores, ac monasteria, jussit (Willielmus secundus) dividi.—Rog. de Hoveden, *Chronica* [*R.S.* li. vol. i. p. 140]. St. Paul's Cathedral, London, had, in the year 1295, two of these reeds of gilt silver: Calix grecus sine patena, cum duobus calamis argenteis deauratis, &c.—Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 313.

The Anglo-Saxons Receive The Divine Eucharist Under One Kind Only.[39]

That it might ever be ready to afford its heavenly strength to those who were sick unto death, the adorable Eucharist was always kept in the church [40]

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[39] That the use of communion under one kind only, that of bread, has been followed from the beginning of the Church, is shown in *Hierurgia*, i. 273.

[40] See note 6, p. 108. An act of parliament and a letter from the privy council declared, "that according to the first institution and use of the primitive Church, the most holy sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, should be distributed to the people under the kinds of bread and wine."—*Ancient Lit. of the Church of England. Preface*, p. lxv. second edit.

That statesmen, more especially such as those in the reign of our sixth Edward, should know nothing about the ritual observed during the early ages of Christianity, ought not to be a matter of amazement; any ecclesiastical scholar, however, whose acquaintance with the history and several liturgies of the Church was but slender, would have been soon able to show, that all along from the beginning of our holy faith, communion under one kind, even at the public liturgy, has ever been usual (see *Hierurgia*, i. 273, and especially Grancolas, *Histoire de la Communion sous une seule Espèce*).

In upholding, not indeed the canons of an ecclesiastical synod, but what has been ruled by an act of parliament and decreed in a privy council, Mr. Maskell says (*Ancient Lit.*, pp. lxv. lxvi.): "This indeed is a fact which the most learned supporters of the practice of communion under one kind only do not attempt to deny; to use the words of Cardinal Bona: 'semper enim et ubique ab Ecclesiæ primordiis usque ad sæculum XII., sub specie panis et vini communicarunt fideles.'" "Not attempt to deny," does Mr. Maskell say? Leaning as he does with so heavy a stress upon Bona's opinion, why is it that Mr. Maskell gives us but the half and not the whole of that holy and learned cardinal's words on this subject? Let us hear all of them, and then shall we find out that good Bona is one of the loudest in denying the very thing he is paraded as supporting, and instead of being for, is against Mr. Maskell, the act of parliament, and the letter from the privy

(170) with the greatest respect, and renewed every eighth day,[41] under but one form—that of bread; and under this kind was it, that all—priests and people (171)—received their Redeemer, once in every year, as they took the holy housel at the service on Good Friday morning.[42] Getting their belief, the (172) Anglo-Saxons likewise got all their liturgical

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council; the cardinal says: Extra sacrificium vero et extra ecclesiam semper et ubique communio sub una specie in usu fuit.—Bona, *Rer. Lit.* lib. II. cap. xviii. § 1 (tom. iii. p. 399, ed. Sala).

[41] Some priests hold the housel that was hallowed on Easter day, over a year, for sick people; but they misdo very deeply. The holy housel should be kept with great care, and not be retained, but other new be hallowed for sick men, always every seven days, or fortnight, &c.—*Canons of Ælfric;* ed. Thorpe, ii. 361. Such, too, was the practice in after ages here in England, for Archbishop Peckham (A.D. 1278), directed thus: Sacramentum omni die Dominica præcipimus innovari.—Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, iii. 25, p. 248.

[42] That on Good Friday the communion should be given to all who partook of it, under one kind only, is set forth in all the Anglo-Saxon documents on the subject which have come down to us.

In that very precious codex, known under the name of Leofric's Missal, now in the Bodleian, Oxford, is the following rubric: Feria sexta . . . Istas orationes expletas (*sic*), ingrediuntur diaconi in sacrario et procedunt cum corpore Domini sine uino consecrato, quod altera die remansit, et ponunt super altare, et dicit sacerdos "Oremus; Præceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati audemus dicere, Pater noster." Et adorata cruce communicent omnes.—*Leofric Missal*, 96.

By the rules which St. Dunstan revised for the monks of those days living in our Anglo-Saxon monasteries, the communion on Good Friday is thus set down: Quibus peractis egrediantur diaconus ac subdiaconus de sacrario cum corpore Domini quod pridie remansit, et calice cum vino non consecrato, et ponant super altare, tunc sacerdos veniat ante altare, et dicat voce sonora: "Oremus; Præceptis salutaribus moniti," et "Pater noster," inde "Libera nos quæsumus Domine," usque, "Per omnia sæcula sæculorum": et sumat abbas de sancto sacrificio, et ponat in calicem

books from (173) Rome;[43] and, as among the Britons, so among them,

nihil dicens, et communicent omnes cum silentio.—*Regularis Concordia*, Reyner in *Apost. Bened.*, *Append.*, p. 88.

Ælfric, in his Canons, lays down the same thing, saying: "Housel may not be hallowed on Good Friday. Let the priest then go to the altar of God, with the housel bread that he hallowed on Thursday, and with unhallowed wine mixed with water, and conceal it with his corporal, and then immediately say: 'Oremus, præceptis salutaribus moniti,' and 'Pater noster' to the end. And then let him say to himself: 'Libera nos quæso Domine ab omnibus malis,' and aloud, 'Per omnia secula seculorum.' Let him then put a part of the housel into the chalice, as it is however usual; then let him go silently to the housel, and for the rest, let look who will."—*Canons of Ælfric*, ed. Thorpe, ii. 359.

Ministers of the Protestant establishment, who perform the Communion service on Good Friday, may see by these ancient national authorities, as well as by the liturgies of the rest of Christendom, used now and in all past ages, how widely they depart from the usage of the Church, followed not only here, but in every other country on the earth, by such an unwarrantable practice.

Let none of those gentlemen—from what has lately been put forth by a talented brother of theirs, the Rev. W. Maskell, who, without any hesitation, says, "It has been decided that no priest might, under any necessity, consecrate twice upon Good Friday" (*Ancient Lit.*, sec. edit., p. 161)—infer that, though forbidden to do so twice, a priest may consecrate once, at least, this day.

Upon what imaginary grounds Mr. Maskell thinks he can build such a new supposition, one cannot see, for he points to no authority, brings no warrant for it. He may, however, rest assured, when our own Ælfric uttered those words "Housel may not be hallowed on Good Friday," the Anglo-Saxon homilist spoke the ritual opinion, not only of England, but of all Christendom, from the Apostolic ages upwards, that there may not be any consecration of the Eucharist whatsoever or whysoever—not even for the dying—on Good Friday: God's Catholic Church, throughout the earth, has ever since held, and still holds and acts upon the feelings embodied in Ælfric's words: "Housel may not be hallowed on Good Friday." All liturgical readers know the Mass of the Pre-sanctified (of which a short notice may be seen in *Hierurgia*, i. 274) is celebrated, not only by the Latin, but the Greek, and all the other Oriental Churches, on Good Friday.

[43] Nos autem in æcclesia Anglorum idem primi mensis jejunium,

THE MASS WAS ALWAYS SAID IN LATIN; THE SACRAMENTS WERE ADMINISTERED; AND ALL THE PUBLIC OFFICES OF THE CHURCH WERE SUNG IN THE SAME LANGUAGE;

And, by a happy coincidence, St. Cyprian[44] at (174) Carthage, in the third century, and our own St. Beda, living in the northern parts of this island in the seventh century, both notice those heart-stirring words of the "Sursum corda"[45] which the priest to this day sings, as, standing at the altar, he begins the more solemn portion of the Holy Sacrifice. Ages divide the times, oceans the homes, but not the belief of Catholics.

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ut noster didascalus beatus Gregorius, in suo Antiphonario et Missali libro, per pedagogum nostrum Augustinum transmisit ordinatum et rescriptum. — *Dialogus Ecgberti, De Primo Jejunio*, ed. Thorpe, ii. 95. A strict adherence to the Roman model was commanded by the council of Clovesho, A.D. 747: Definitur ut uno eodemque modo . . . in baptismi officio, in missarum celebratione, in cantilenæ modo celebrentur, juxta exemplar videlicet quod scriptum de Romana habemus ecclesia.—Wilkins, *Concil.* i. 96.

[44] Quando stamus ad orationem, præfatione præmissa parat (sacerdos) fratrum mentes, dicendo "Sursum corda." Ut dum respondet plebs "Habemus ad Dominum," admoneatur, nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare velle.—*De Oratione Dom.* [31. (Hartel, i. 289)].

[45] Missarum solemnia celebrans, nequaquam sine profusione lacrimarum implere posset (S. Cuthbertus) officium. Sed congruo satis ordine dum passionis Dominicæ mysteria celebraret, imitaretur ipse quod ageret, seipsum videlicet Deo in cordis contritione mactando; sed et adstantes populos "Sursum corda" habere, et "Gratias agere Domino Deo nostro" magis ipse cor quam vocem exaltando, potius gemendo quam canendo admoneret.—*Vita S. Cudbercti*, auct. S. Beda. *Op. Hist. Minor* [*P.L.* xciv. 756].

Though the Anglo-Saxons, like their Catholic brethren in the faith throughout the world at the present time, prayed in a tongue unknown to the bulk of the people, the beautiful doctrines of the holy rites were not hidden from them, for their priests were strictly required to study and unfold to their respective flocks the meaning of everything they saw and heard at Mass, and the administration of the Sacraments.[46]

(175) As now, so then, neither the Sunday nor the festival was deemed to have been kept holy, unless Mass had been heard; for an Anglo-Saxon ordinance, made a thousand years ago, runs thus: "We command those mass-priests who

[46] Ut presbyteri . . . sacrosancta quoque verba quæ in Missæ celebratione, et officio baptismi solemniter dicuntur, interpretari atque exponere posse propria lingua, qui nesciant, discant; necnon et ipsa sacramenta quæ in Missa, ac baptismate, vel in aliis ecclesiasticis officiis visibiliter conficiuntur, quid spiritaliter significent, ediscere studeant.—*Concil. Cloveshoviense*, A.D. 747. Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 96.

In regard to the first move towards the exchange of the venerable old Catholic liturgy in Latin for the Protestant one in English, brought about by act of parliament, and a letter from the king's privy council, in the first year of the child Edward's reign, Mr. Maskell (*Ancient Lit., Preface*, p. lxvi.) remarks: "This order of communion was a most praiseworthy step towards the revival of the liturgy in a "tongue understanded of the people." What revival can Mr. Maskell mean? From the first hour Christianity was taught and believed in this land since the time of the Britons, to that sad day when Protestantism came to be broached here, the liturgy of the Church was, throughout the country, Latin—in a foreign language—"in a tongue not understood of the people," during either the British, the Anglo-Saxon, or the English period of our history. When the "people," in Cornwall and Devon, took up arms to defend their Catholic faith against the novelties of Edward VI.'s ministers, one of their grievances was the use of the vulgar for the Latin tongue, in the services of religion.

both on (176) Sundays, and other mass-days, wish to sing before the high mass, that they do so privately, so that they draw off no portion of the people from the high mass. But we command, that no man taste any meat, before the service of the high mass be completed, but that all, both females and males, assemble at the high mass, and at the holy and spiritual church, and there hear the high mass, and the preaching of God's word. We command men of every order that every one attend the high mass."[47]

(177) Like ourselves, the Anglo-Saxons, as we see by this, had their high and low Masses.

(178) What more befitting worship could they think of for hallowing the Sunday or the festivals, and (179) for drawing down upon their heads God's blessing any day in the week, than the Sacrifice of the Mass? Though they might fear

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[47] Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 441, &c. In the instructions addressed to the clergy of Orleans, when made bishop of that see at the end of the eighth century, Theodulf speaks in the very same words.—*Capit.* xlvi. [*P.L.* cv. 206]. The Anglo-Saxon "ꝛo þæpe halȝan ⁊ ȝaꝛꝛlican cyꝛcean," is rendered, by Bishop Theodulf, "ad sanctam matrem ecclesiam." (*Ib.*) But, long before this enactment was made, the council of Clovesho (A.D. 747), decreed: Ut dominicus dies legitima veneratione a cunctis celebretur; sitque divino tantum cultui dedicatus, omnesque abbates ac presbyteri isto sacratissimo die in suis monasteriis atque ecclesiis maneant, Missarumque solemnia agant: sed et hoc quoque decernitur quod eo die sive per alias festivitates majores, populus per sacerdotes Dei ad ecclesiam sæpius invitatus, ad audiendum verbum Dei conveniat, Missarumque sacramentis ac doctrinæ sermonibus frequentius adsit.—*Concil. Cloveshoviense*, in Wilkins, *Concil.*, i. 96.

they were not good enough to take the Holy Eucharist every time they went to Mass; still, by hearing it with (180) true devotion, they rendered unto the Almighty the highest, holiest adoration—they came to bow them down, and, by bowing down, to thank the Father for sending—the Son for becoming—the Holy Ghost for hallowing, the victim of the great atonement for the sins of man. They joined themselves with the seraphic spirits in adoring Christ lying on the altar in the sacrifice, for they believed that angels singing Hosanna, though hidden from men's eyes, unheard by mortals' ears, were at that awful moment crowded all about the altar[48]—they kept up a Christian fellowship with the Apostles, and martyrs, and all the saints in heaven, as they asked those faithful and now happy servants of the Lord to pray for them poor sinners—they showed for the departed souls of those dear to them, for kindred's, friendship's, kindness' sake, a love that dies not with the dead, towards enemies forgiveness, towards all Christian brethren charity, by praying, if they were yet held by the stains of sin upon them amid the cleansing fires of purgatory, that they might through Christ's merits be forgiven and let go to be with God for evermore—they put themselves and their families more directly within the supplications of the sacrificing priest, who then be-

[48] See note on p. 57; and Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, ii. 409.

sought, as the priest of the Catholic Church still beseeches God at the holy (181) offering, that He would vouchsafe to be "mindful of all here present, for whom we offer or who offer up to Thee this sacrifice of praise for themselves, their families, and their friends, for the redemption of their souls, for the health and salvation they hope for, &c." [49] No true believer hears Mass well, but his Faith is strengthened, he gets new holy longings for his Hope, he makes his Christian Charity, his love for God and man, to glow warmer in his bosom, he rises from his prayer with feelings of deeper sorrow for his sins, and he has not only said the words but fulfilled the teaching of his "Belief," for he has practised the "communion of Saints."

For offering up this unbloody sacrifice of the new law, and to perform the other services of religion,

The Anglo-Saxon Church had the same Degrees of Order as we have

at present, through which her ministers had to pass before they might exercise their respective functions.

"Seven degrees are established in the Church: one is ostiarius, the second is lector, the third

[49] The canon of the Mass at the "Memento" for the living.

exorcista, the fourth acoluthus, the fifth subdiaconus, the sixth diaconus, the seventh presbyter.

(182) "Ostiarius is the church door-keeper, whose duty it is to announce the hours with bells, and unlock the church to believing men, and to shut the unbelieving without.

"Lector is the reader, who reads in God's church, and is ordained for the purpose of preaching of God's word.

"Exorcista is, in English, he who with oath conjures in the Saviour's name, the accursed spirits which torment men, that they forsake those men.

"Acoluthus he is called who bears the candle or taper, in God's ministries, when the Gospel is read, or when the housel is hallowed at the altar; not to dispel, as it were, the dim darkness, but, with that light, to announce bliss, in honour of Christ, who is our light.

"Subdiaconus is truly under-deacon, who bears forth the vessels to the deacons, and humbly ministers under the deacon, at the holy altar, with the housel vessels.

"Diaconus is the minister who ministers to the mass-priest, and sets the offerings upon the altar, and also reads the gospels at God's ministries. He may baptize children, and housel the people. They shall minister to the Saviour in white albs, and lead a spiritual life in chastity, and all be efficient persons, so as is befitting the order.

"The priest who continues without a deacon, has the name, but has not the services.

"Presbyter is the mass-priest, or old 'wita'; (183) not that every one is old, but that he is old in wisdom. He hallows God's housel, as the Saviour commanded. . . . There is no difference betwixt a mass-priest and a bishop, save that the bishop is appointed for the ordaining of priests and confirming of children, and hallowing of churches, and to take care of God's dues, for it would be too multifarious if every mass-priest so did: but they have one order, though the latter have precedence." [50]

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[50] *Canons of Ælfric*, Thorpe, ii. 347, 348, &c. It was not allowed for a clerk to bring an accusation against any other who stood higher than himself in orders: Presbyter non adversus episcopum, non diaconus adversus presbyterum, non subdiaconus adversus diaconum, non acolytus adversus subdiaconum, non exorcista adversus acolytum, non lector adversus exorcistam, non ostiarius adversus lectorem det accusationem aliquam.—*Cap. et Frag. Theodori*, ed. Thorpe, ii. 73. With regard to civil rights, the priest was, in some instances, put on a level with a thane: A mass-priest's oath, and a secular thane's, are in English law reckoned of equal value; and by reason of the seven Church-degrees that the mass-priest, through the grace of God, has acquired, he is worthy of thane-right.—*Of Oaths*, Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, i. 183.

Ecgberht's pontifical, and St. Dunstan's, both in the National Library at Paris, and another precious Anglo-Saxon pontifical in the public library at Rouen, as well as those codices which we happily have in our own libraries, give the form by which each of these grades in "Order" was conferred of old in this country. From the above-named Anglo-Saxon MSS. in France, Martene has made many extracts to be found in his invaluable work *De Ant. Ecc. Rit.*, tom. ii. lib. i. cap. viii., art. xi., p. 31, *et seq.* St. Dunstan's and the Rouen MS. count eight degrees, reckoning the psalmista or singer as one; the MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, makes them amount to nine, by enumerating the

(184) But, before mounting the lowest step of these seven degrees in Order, each individual who wished (185) to give himself up to the service of the Church, had to receive

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psalmista, and distinguishing the bishop's as different from the priest's order: Ordo novem ecclesiasticorum graduum quorum primus est ostiarius, secundus psalmista . . . . nonus episcopus. (*Cat. Lib.* MSS. CCCC., ed. Nasmith, p. 28). Leofric's so-called Missal, in the Bodleian, Oxford, contains the ordination service (pp. 211 and ff.) for all these degrees, among which, however, the psalmista is not set down. The codex, containing the ordination and other services which a bishop performs, was not, as now, called a "Pontifical" by the Anglo-Saxons, but the *Liber Ministerialis* (*Concil. Calchuth.*, A.D. 816, cap. ii., Wilkins, i. 169), or a full Mass-book, as Bishop Leofric, in his will, designates the two codices he bequeathed to his cathedral of Exeter, and of which one just mentioned is in that truly rich collection of MSS. belonging to the glorious Bodleian Library [*Ibid.*, xxii.].

Of the psalmista or singer, St. Isidore, Bishop of Seville, A.D. 596, tells us: Psalmistarum, id est cantorum, principes vel auctores David, sive Asaph extiterunt . . . . psalmistæ . . . . continuis diebus in templo canebant, candidis induti stolis, ad vocem eius respondente choro. Ex hoc veteri more Ecclesia sumpsit exemplum nutriendi psalmistas quorum cantibus ad effectum Dei mentes audientium excitentur. . . . Solent autem ad hoc officium etiam absque conscientia episcopi sola jussione presbyteri eligi quique, quos probabiles in cantandi arte esse constiterit. *De Eccl. Off.*, ii. 12 [p. 431; *P.L.* lxxxii. 792]. With regard to his office and appointment, our Anglo-Saxon service-books hold the same language as St. Isidore; for St. Dunstan's and the Pontifical at Rouen say: Unde vocatur psalmista? A psalmis cantandis. Ipsi enim canunt ut excitent animos ad compunctionem audientium. . . . Psalmista, id est cantor, postquam ab archidiacono instructus fuerit, potest absque conscientia episcopi sola jussione presbyteri officium suscipere cantandi, dicente sibi presbytero: Vide ut quod ore cantas corde credas, et quod corde credis operibus probes.—Martene, *ut supra*, p. 37.

The Tonsure,

or mark of clerkhood, which is conferred by cutting away the hair from the head, after a particular fashion.[51] Of the ecclesiastical tonsure (186) there were known to the Anglo-Saxons, in the early period of their Church, two distinctive shapes —the Roman, and the Irish; the Roman form was perfectly round; the Irish was made by cutting away the hair from the upper part of the forehead in the figure of a half-moon, with the convex side before.[52] In this, as well as every

[51] This clerical tonsure and its form are mentioned in many of our Anglo-Saxon documents; of St. Cuthbert, his anonymous biographer tells us: Sanctus homo Dei Cuthbertus . . . postquam servitutis Christi jugum tonsuræque Petri formam, in modum coronæ spineæ caput Christi cingentis . . . susceperat, &c. (*Vita S. Cuthberti auct. monacho Lindisf. coævo. AA. SS. Martii*, iii. 119, n. 2). Archbishop Ecgberht makes its use come down from St. Peter: Petrus itaque Apostolus clericali tonsura primo usus est, gestans in capite imaginem coronæ spineæ Christi, &c. (*Excerpt.*, Thorpe, ii. 124). By the 47th among the "Canons enacted under King Edgar," it is enjoined: That no man in holy orders hide his tonsure (*Ib.* 255); and by the "Law of the Northumbrian priests," it was ordained that "if a priest enwrap his tonsure, let him pay 'bōt' for it," that is, a fine (*Ib.* p. 297, n. 40). In the earlier rituals, the service for giving the tonsure is called, "Ordo ad capillos tondendos."

[52] In his letter, A.D. 710, to Naitan, king of the Picts, Abbot Ceolfrid, in describing both the Roman and Irish form of tonsure, lets us see how they differed one from the other. 1. Ceolfrid derives the use of the Roman form of tonsure from the prince of the Apostles, and gives us its symbolic meaning: Quia Petrus in memoriam Dominicæ passionis ita attonsus est, idcirco et nos, qui per eandem passionem salvari desideramus, ipsius passionis signum cum illo in vertice, summa videlicet, corporis nostri parte gestamus. . . . Formam quoque coronæ quam ipse (Dominus) in passione

other ritual (187) observance, the Anglo-Saxons followed Rome, and adopted her form of tonsure for their clergy. But after, as well as before St. Osmund's times, the canons of our national Church required her ministers to wear this mark of their clerkhood about them, that they might ever have in mind they were the servants of a crucified master, who wreathed his head with thorns for them.[53]

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spineam portavit in capite, ut spinas ac tribulos peccatorum nostrorum portaret, id est, exportaret et auferret a nobis, suo quemque in capite per tonsuram præferre, ut se etiam irrisiones et opprobria pro illo libenter ac promte omnia sufferre ipso etiam frontispicio doceant; ut coronam vitæ æternæ quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se, se semper expectare . . . designent.—Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, v. 21. 2. The Abbot of Jarrow, or Wearmouth, then goes on to describe the tonsure worn by the Irish monks, thus: Quæ (tonsura) in frontis quidem superficie coronæ videtur speciem præferre, sed ubi ad cervicem considerando perveneris decurtatam eam, quam te videre putabas, invenies coronam, &c.—*Ibid.*

[53] Statuimus ut clerici qui ab episcopo coronam susceperunt, tonsuram habeant et coronam.—*Concil. Eborac.*, A.D. 1195. Wilkins, *Concil.* i. 502. By the old English use, the clerical tonsure consisted, rightly speaking, of two things: 1. The hair was shorn away from the top of the head in a circular shape, more or less wide, according as the wearer happened to be high or low in Order. 2. The hair was clipped over the ears and all about the neck in such a way, that from behind and on the sides it looked like a ring, or crown, around the head: on all our old English gravebrasses, and every other kind of pictorial monument, not only the tonsure, as now understood, but the clerical cut of the hair is very marked. In Caxton's edition of the "Quatuor Sermones" in English, it is laid down, that men in Orders "must have their crowns shaven, their heads tonsured, and their clothes honestly shapen," &c. (fol. xiii.[b]). Again, Caxton, in his "Liber Festivalis," speaking of Maundy Thursday, tells us: "It (cena Domini) is in English called Sherethursday, for in old fathers' days the people would that day shear their heads, and clip their beards, and poll their heads, and so make them honest against Easterday. On

Sherethursday a man should do poll his hair and clip his beard, and a priest should shave his crown," &c. (fol. xxxiv.). This twofold obligation in clerks of having their hair cut short, as well as their tonsure on the crown of the head clipped, is shown by Lyndwood, who says: Fit corona ex rasura in summitate capitis, et tonsione capillorum in parte capitis inferiore, et sic circulus capillorum proprie dicitur corona.—Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, i. 14, p. 69. Hæc (tonsura) consistit in præcisione capillorum ex parte inferiori. Et debet fieri supra aures, sic quod aures pateant (*ibid.*). Long hair on a clergyman, besides being uncleanly, is quite against the canons of the Church. For a clergyman to wear his hair long, was always looked upon as womanlike and worldly by the English canons. It is thus the council of London (A.D. 1342) blames the dressy clerk in those days: In sacris etiam ordinibus constituti, coronam quæ regni cælestis et perfectionis est indicium, deferre contemnunt, et crinium extensorum quasi ad scapulas utentes discrimine, velut effœminati, militari potius quam clericali habitu induti, &c.—Wilkins, *Conc.*, ii. 703.

XV.—NEXT to these questions about the Eucharist itself, and those other subjects in more immediate connection with this clean sacrifice, which as (189) Malachi foretold,[1] is now offered everywhere to God, from the rising to the setting sun, comes, though far behind them in importance, an examination into

THE CHURCH-ARCHITECTURE RESULTING FROM THE LITURGICAL RITES FOLLOWED BY THE ANGLO-SAXONS IN OFFERING UP THE HOLY SACRIFICE OF THE MASS.

Without some knowledge of their church usages, we shall be quite unable to draw any comparison between the sacred ceremonies as they were before and after St. Osmund came to be Bishop of Salisbury, and thus find out in what his ordinances differed from those which had of old prevailed in this country before the landing of the Normans.

The liturgy of a people unhampered by any state penalties against their religion, and enjoying, as the Anglo-Saxons did, their full Christian freedom,

[1] Mal. i. 11.

has had, and always must have, a permanent influence over the architecture of their churches, if not in always choosing the style, always at least in determining the plan, and arranging all the subdivisions of the edifice. As churches are raised for the wants and appliances of the liturgy followed by those who are to worship in them, upon that liturgy, whatever it may be, the architect will necessarily keep a steady eye, that all its requirements be answered in the laying out of the building.

(190) No sooner do we reach this part of our subject, than we feel awakening within us a wish to know, if possible,

XVI.—How the Anglo-Saxons built and ornamented their Churches.

With nothing of all that was raised through ages by Anglo-Saxon skill and piety left standing in any corner of the land, of such a size or kind as would show us the distribution in one of their larger churches, we must go and search elsewhere, and bringing back with us every stray notice, however short—every hint (however little) we can pick up relative to the sacred edifices of that far-off period, try our best, by putting together such materials, to sketch for ourselves a rough draft of an Anglo-Saxon minster. However faint the outline be in many places, though quite broken off in others, still it may turn out useful; and

better hands, with the assistance of other and happier discoveries, will be able to shed light upon what is now dim, supply the fragments that are wanting, and fill up the drawing.

Along with their belief and their liturgy, our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, in all likelihood, got from Rome the plan and distribution of their churches. Though St. Benet Biscop and St. Wilfrid,[2] while (191) gazing upon the religious structures of Gaul, in their several journeys to and from the Holy See, may have gleaned and brought home many ideas of improvement, and ingrafted them upon the beautiful churches which they built in their native land, still the Roman basilica must have been to each of those great saints a ruling model; and no doubt we behold in

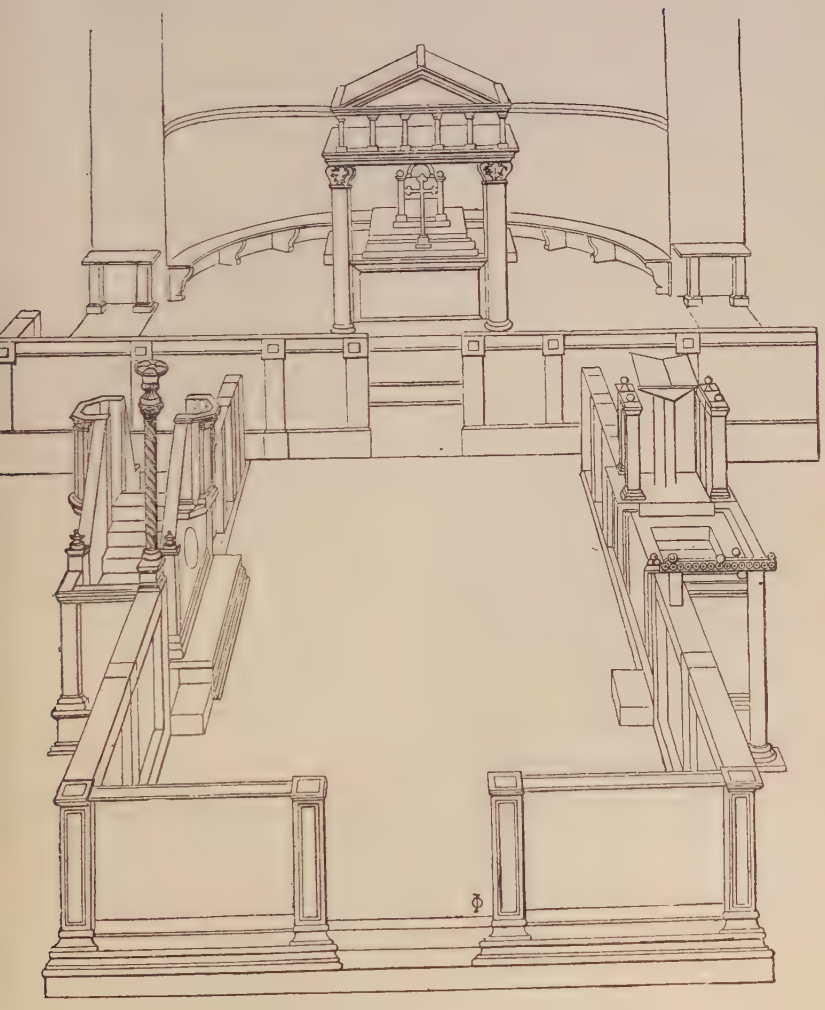
[2] Benedictus. oceano transmisso, Gallias petens, cæmentarios qui lapideam sibi ecclesiam juxta Romanorum, quem semper amabat, morem facerent, postulavit, accepit, attulit.– Beda, *Vita S. Benedicti* [*P.L.* xciv. 716].

The fine large minster, with its deep wide undercroft, which St. Wilfrid built from his own designs at Hexham, must have been, for those times, very splendid, as Eddi, the biographer and constant companion through life of the holy bishop, declares it to have been the most beautiful church on this side the Alps: In Hagustaldense regione domum Domino in honorem beati Andreæ Apostoli fabricatam fundavit: cujus profunditatem in terra cum domibus mirifice politis lapidibus fundatam, et super terram multiplicem domum columnis variis et porticibus multis suffultam, mirabilique longitudine et altitudine murorum ornatam et variis linearum anfractibus viarum, aliquando sursum, aliquando deorsum, per cochleas circumductam, non est meæ parvitatis hoc sermone explicare, quod sanctus præsul animarum, a Spiritu Dei doctus opere facere excogitavit: neque ullam domum aliam citra Alpes montes talem ædificatam audivimus.– Eddi, *S. Wilfridi Ep. Eborac. Vita*, in Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. B.* v. 646.

St. Clement's, and the other venerable old churches still standing at Rome[3] the (192) pattern of those sacred edifices with which the Anglo-Saxons ornamented their England. While, however, the Roman basilica was the type of the Anglo-Saxon minster, the Anglo-Saxon minster, in its turn, became the pattern for the Anglo-Norman cathedral: afterwards arose the pointed, and pushed aside the round style of architecture; but the church built by the English artist, according to the way followed since the latter end of the twelfth century, and to answer the liturgical and never-changing wants of the Catholic ritual for the Holy Sacrifice, still shows itself to be the offspring of Rome, bearing about it, strongly marked, too, the family likeness, as a true child of its Roman mother, at the same time that it exhibits a certain individuality, and beautiful features of its own.

Though, at first sight, an old Roman basilica looks so unlike, in its distribution, to a Gothic cathedral, the dissimilitude is more in appearance than reality, and consists, not so much in a difference of parts, as in another kind of arrange-

[3] The accurate and beautifully executed plans, inside views, and elevations of the old Roman basilican churches, drawn and engraved by Gutensohn and Knapp, entitled *Die Basiliken des Christlichen Roms*, together with the learned and highly valuable little work, *Antica Basilicografia*, by Sarnelli, will afford the reader the most minute and correct information concerning the architectural distribution and form of early Christian churches.



Inside of St. Clement's Church, Rome.

ment. This may be seen by the above outline of St. Clement's Church at Rome.

(193) Here we observe that, as even now in all the Roman basilicas, whether old or new, so formerly

The High Altar in Anglo-Saxon Churches

must have been far away from any wall, and have (194) stood by itself where the nave ended and the apse began, and was overshadowed by a small dome, which rested upon four columns, and about which hung many precious ornaments. That such was, in reality, the construction of Anglo-Saxon altars, we know, not only by the representations of them now and then met with in their manuscripts —one of which, the magnificently illuminated Benedictional, done by Godemann, the monk of Winchester, for St. Æthelwold while bishop of that see, has furnished us with the example in this woodcut; but from the ritual for the consecration of churches, to be found in Anglo-Saxon Ponti-

ficals, wherein it is said that "the altar upon which the only begotten Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, is continually immolated by the hands of the faithful, (195) is overhung by a canopy, and that the relics of the saints lie beneath it."[4]

Between the columns ran iron rods holding rings, to which were fastened

CURTAINS,[5]

to be drawn, as this other woodcut of a dome in the same Benedictional lets us see, around the

[4] In our Anglo-Saxon Pontifical, there is a particular prayer set down for the blessing of the altar-canopy:

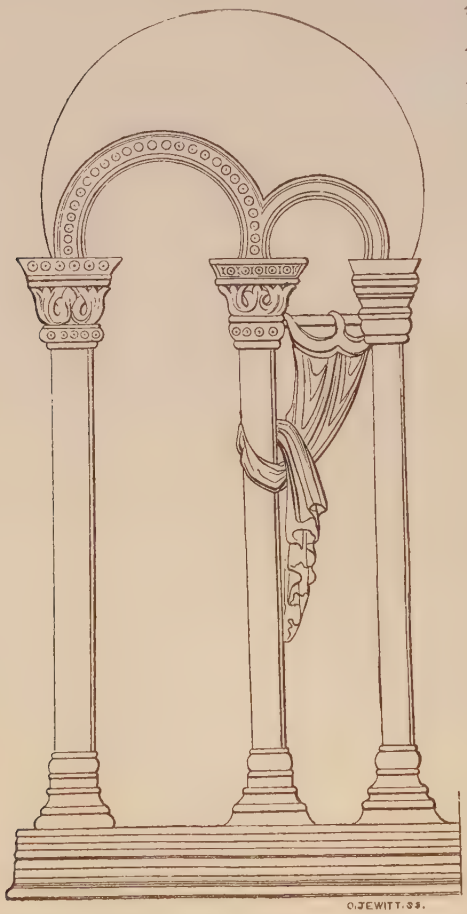
Prefacio ciborii id est umbraculi Altaris.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus ... quesumus ineffabilem clementiam tuam ut hoc tegumen venerandi altaris tui in quo unigenitus filius tuus Dominus noster IHS XPS qui est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris fidelium manibus jugiter immolatur, et sub quo sanctorum tuorum corpora reconduntur quæ veraciter fuerunt arca testamenti ... cum omnibus ornamentis ad ipsum umbraculum pertinentibus, vel ab illo dependentibus aut eidem subpositis, tua celesti benedictione perfundere ... digneris.—*MS. Anglo-Saxon Pontifical in the British Museum, Tiberius C. I.*, fol. 106, *verso* [Cp. *Lacy Pontif.* 209]. The reader will not fail observing how strongly the unchangeable doctrine of God's Catholic Church is laid down in this Anglo-Saxon Pontifical, when it tells us of the "venerandi altaris," the to-be-revered altar, "upon which the Lord Jesus Christ is always being immolated," that is, offered up in sacrifice, "by the hands of the faithful"—Dominus noster IHS XPS fidelium manibus jugiter immolatur.

[5] The drawing of the curtain is expressly mentioned in this rubric: Venientes autem ante altare et extenso velo inter eos et populum, facit episcopus, &c.—*Ordo quomodo ecclesiam debeat dedicare* in *Ecgbert Pontif.*, 45.

The "VII of brædelsas," found in the list of Bishop Leofric's bequests to his church of Exeter, were most likely veils or curtains to hang between the columns of the altar-canopy [*Leof. Miss.* xxii.].

altar (196) according as the rubrics might require; and if the Anglo-Saxons borrowed the usages when they adopted the liturgy of Rome, their mother church, we may conclude that these altar-curtains were often made of rich silk, either white or of a crimson or a rose-coloured tint, nay, sometimes of the most precious cloth of gold, flowered with garlands of pearls running (197) round imagery illustrative of sacred subjects,[6] wrought



[6] Hic fecit (Sergius) in circuitu altaris basilicæ tetravela VIII., quatuor ex albis et quatuor a coccino.—*Liber Pontificalis*, i. 375. In basilica beati Pauli Apostoli inter columnas altaris dextra ævaque vela alba (Johannes VI.).—*Ibid.* 383. Præclarus pontifex Leo III.) fecit in circuitu altaris beati Petri apostoli [at the Lateran] . . . tetravila rubea oloserica alitina, habentes tabulas

by the beautiful needles of our Anglo-Saxon ladies.

The employment of curtains, so becoming in itself around the altar, we have every reason for thinking, obtained among the British Christians: it assuredly did, in one form or another, throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, and up to the time when this island, as a kingdom, fell quite away from its early faith under Queen Elizabeth; the revival of their use, along with the other memorials of the (198) Church of our fathers, cannot be too much applauded.

The Ciborium, or Dome-like Canopy overshadowing the High Altar in the middle of the Church,[7]

was ornamented not only by curtains drooping between the four columns which upheld it, but on

seu orbiclos de chrisoclabo, diversis depictos historiis cum stellis de chrisoclabo; necnon et in medio cruces de chrisoclabo ex margaretis ornatas mire magnitudinis et pulchritudinis decorata, quae in diebus festis ibidem ad decorem mittuntur. Pari modo ubi supra fecit et alia tetravila alba oloserica rosata paschatiles, habentes tabulas atque orbiclos de chrisoclabo, necnon et cruces cum chrisoclabo ex margaretis ornatas, cum periclisi de chrisoclabo. Immo etiam et alia vela modica IIII., ubi supra, in singulis columnis de ciburio fecit, habentes tigris de chrisoclabo, et in circuitu ornatas de blati.—*Ibid.* [ii. 29].

[7] Mensa sacrata Deo magno sub nomine Petri

. . . . . .

Viribus et totis percomtam reddere curat
Hanc ædem Domini; medio sub aggere mensam
Diximus ut dudum, Petro quæ gignit odores
Præmites, statuit cælestis gratia terris.

—Ethelwolf, *Carmen de Abbat. Lindisf.*, cap. vi. [*P.L.* xcvi. 1332]. The high altar standing isolated in the middle of the church, is clearly indicated by the Anglo-Saxon monk, in the above lines.

great occasions was often wreathed with garlands of evergreens and flowers.[8] That the Anglo-

[8] In singing of the good deeds of Abbot Sigbald to the church of Lindisfarn, this poet-monk Æthelwolf furnishes us with some most valuable information respecting the architectural arrangement, and the ritual of the Anglo-Saxon Churches of his time, A.D. 802.

> Hæc est illa domus, quam Mater Numinis alti
> Incolitans servat vasti sub culmine cæli.
> Cui compacta nitet perpulchris mensa tabellis,
> Porticus in medio, sancti quam fronde coronant,
> Dum buxis claudunt pretiosæ munera vitæ.
> Occidua nitidi splendent in parte ministri
> Qui modulis culmen cæli concentibus ornant.
> Omnes ast sancti medii pavimenta sacelli
> Servantes colitant per tempora cuncta, &c.

—*Carmen de Abb. Lindisf.* [xiv. *Ibid.* 1337].

These verses of Æthelwolf's, heretofore overlooked by every one who has written on Anglo-Saxon antiquities, afford us a glimpse of a great deal hitherto unknown belonging to the inside of an Anglo-Saxon minster. In this church, dedicated to God under the name of the ever blessed Virgin Mary, the high altar shining with its beautiful frontals—the "porticus in medio," the porch or ciborium standing over that altar—the garlands with which this canopy was often decked—the reserved Eucharist, shut up within a pix and kept at that altar, as is evident from the way in which both are spoken of so nearly together—the mention of the singers being on the western side—are all so many circumstantial notices not to be found in any other work which has come down to us.

The high altar under the ciborium or canopy standing in the middle of a church—the "medio sub aggere mensa"—is mentioned by Æthelwolf in another part of the same poem (*ibid.* 1332, verse 34), and it would seem that, besides the high altar, all the smaller ones in the same church had each its own canopy, as we gather from the verses of Wolstan, the monk of Winchester, in his praise of St. Æthelwold:

> Addidit et plures sacris altaribus ædes

[*P.L.* cxxxvii. 109].

Most likely these altar canopies were, in this country as abroad, at that period, overlaid with gold and silver, and had each of them a "corona" or hoop for holding lights, made of gold and sparkling

(199) Saxons always kept the Divine Eucharist reserved in their churches, to have it ready for carrying (200) when needed at any hour of the day or night to the sick and dying, has been shown in another part of this work.[9] It is most likely that the place for guarding the Blessed Sacrament was under the hollow dome of the ciborium, where, enclosed within the chrismal, and shut up in a pix, fashioned like to a dove, or a covered cup, made—whenever their means would allow—of gold or silver, it hung over the altar by a chain or cord; and around it in most, if not in all churches, there shone a ring of ever-burning lights fastened upon a hoop of silver or bright metal, hanging, like the pix, by a (201) chain from the inner roof of the ciborium, the outward top of which was surmounted by a cross.[10]

Here it was that, in joy or sadness, the vow was vowed to heaven at this most hallowed spot

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with gems, hanging from its roof inside, as was the practice in the churches of France: Super illa tria altaria habentur tria ciboria ex argento et auro parata, in quibus tres dependent coronæ, singulæ per singula ex auro gemmisque paratæ, cum aureis cruciculis, aliisque diversis ornamentis.—*Descrip. Thesau. S. Richarii*, A.D. 831, in *Chron. Centul.*, iii. 3 [*P.L.* clxxiv. 1257].

From a later writer, but still one who had seen the Anglo-Saxon-built church which he describes—from the monk of Canterbury, Eadmer—we learn that the choir ran down the nave: Inde ad occidentem chorus psallentium in aulam ecclesiæ porrigebatur decenti fabrica a frequentia turbæ seclusus.—Eadmer, quoted by Gervase of Canterbury, *Chron.* [R.S. lxxiii. i. 8].

[9] See note 8, p. 108.

[10] An anonymous monk of York, taken by some to be even Alcuin himself, tells us, in his poem written *c.* A.D. 785, that the

within the church; and, as a pledge for its fulfilment, the horn,[11] the dagger,[12] the green sod,[13] or the

younger Wilfrid hung one of these splendid crowns above an altar of the cathedral:

> Præsul grandem construxerat aram,
> Texit et argento, gemmis simul undique et auro,
> Atque dicavit eam Sancti sub nomine Pauli,
> . . . . . .
> Hoc altare farum supra suspenderat altum,
> Qui tenet ordinibus tria grandia vasa novenis,
> Et sublime crucis vexillum erexit ad aram.
> [*De Pontif. Ebor*, line 1590; *P.L.* ci. 842].

[11] Horns of strange or rare animals, or of ivory curiously carved, were thought meet ornaments to hang around the altar, on festival days. For such a purpose, it may have been that bishop Leofric bequeathed to his church at Exeter:—IIII. hornas (Kemble, *Cod. Dip. Anglo-Saxonum*, iv. 275). On the authority of an old MS., Camden tells us that "Ulpus went to York, and, filling with wine the horn he usually drank out of, offered with it on his knees before the altar to God and St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, all his lands and revenues." (*Britannia*, iii. 10, ed. Gough.) This horn, very like Charlemagne's at Aix-la-Chapelle, is still at York Cathedral, and, along with a unicorn's horn, is noticed in the list of precious things belonging to that church: Unum magnum cornu de ebore ornatum cum argento deaurato, ex dono Ulphi filii Thoraldi, cum zona annexa, &c. Item unum cornu unicorni stans fixum in magno lapide.—*Monast. Anglic.*, viii. 1205.

St. Paul's Cathedral, London, had, A.D. 1295, several horns mounted in silver gilt and studded with precious stones. (Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 315.) Hence, we see that the Anglo-Saxon custom of hanging around the altar these ornamented horns, lasted many ages in England. In the "Donation of Constantine," frescoed in the Vatican, there is figured a large horn hanging by two chains, among the lamps about the high altar of old St. Peter's church: this, the reader will find given in the *Vaticano Descritto*, ed. Pistolesi, t. vii., tav. lvii.

[12] Rex Ethelstanus . . . Scotiam tendens beatum Johannem Beverlacum visitavit, super cujus altare cultellum pro vadio posuit, promittens quod si victor rediret, cultellum digno precio redimeret quod et implevit, &c.—*Hist. Dunelm. Ecc.* in *Mon. Anglic.* i. 234.

[13] When, for the good of his soul, and out of love toward Almighty God, Sigiræd, king of Kent (759–765), made over to Eardvulf, bishop of Rochester, some land, he put a fresh sod, cut

bracelet (202) was left, and afterwards redeemed. Here it was that the youthful soldier[14] watched and prayed and (203) knelt when his sword was blessed, and he was girt by the priest a knight, and sworn upon the rood to wager life itself for the Church and his country. Here, too, the bondman[15] was loosened from his (204) thraldom, and the deed that made him free, after having lain upon the

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from it, on the deed of gift: Ego Sigeredus . . . tam pro animæ meæ remedio, quam pro amore omnipotentis Dei, terram aratrorum xx . . . episcopo Earduulfo . . . in perpetuum perdono . . . placuit mihi hanc paginam condere, et una cum cespite terræ prædictæ tradere tibi.—Kemble, *Cod. Dip. Anglo-Saxonum*, i. 139.

[14] Anglorum erat consuetudo quod qui legitime militiæ consecrandus erat, vespere præcedente diem suæ consecrationis ad episcopum vel abbatem, vel monachum, vel sacerdotem aliquem, contritus et compunctus de omnibus suis peccatis confessionem faceret, et absolutus, orationibus et devotionibus et afflictionibus deditus, in ecclesia pernoctaret, in crastino quoque missam auditurus, gladium suum altare offerret, et post Evangelium sacerdos benedictum gladium collo militis cum benedictione imponere, et communicatus ad eandem missam sacris Christi misteriis, denuo miles legittimus permaneret.—Ingulph, *Hist.* [ed. W. de Gray Birch, 1883], p. 122. Such a military rite was kept up (notwithstanding what Ingulph says to the contrary, *ib.*) by the English, as we learn from John of Salisbury (A.D. 1180) who, in the chapter "De privilegiis militum et quod sacramento astricti sunt ecclesiæ, met quare gladius offeratur altari," tells us: Unde jam inolevit consuetudo solemnis, ut ea ipsa die qua quisque militari cingulo decoratur, ecclesiam solemniter adeat, gladioque super altare posito et oblato, quasi celebri professione facta, seipsum obsequio altaris devoveat, et gladii, id est, officii sui jugem Deo spondeat famulatum. —*Policraticus*, vi. 10 [*P.L.* cxcix. 602].

[15] Such as the following entries are to be met with in Anglo-Saxon MSS.: Hæc sunt nomina illorum hominum quos liberabit Ælfric super altare Sancti Petroci pro redemptione animæ suæ, &c.—Hoc est nomen illius fœminæ Gluiucen, quam liberavit Ordulf pro anima Ælfsie super altare Sancti Petroci coram istis testibus Morhaðo diacono, Tithert clerico.—*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Saxonum*, iv. 309.

holy table, was handed to him. Hither it was that king, and queen, and thane, and high-born lady, and sturdy warrior, and wealthy husbandman, carried each his costly gift, according to his degree; and, upon great solemnities, these precious offerings were all brought forth and displayed about the altar; the diadem that a king—unbent by foemen, but self-bent down before God—had, from a feeling of his own unworthiness, snatched from his brows to crown the crucifix at the foot of which he knelt, was then seen sparkling upon the head of Christ's image;[16] the beautifully-embroidered pall and royal mantle, armlets richly gemmed—once worn by princes—cups of gold and silver, and ornaments in ivory, rare and wondrous productions of nature, to be found only in far-off lands, were suspended around the columns, or glistened from amid the wreaths of freshly gathered flowers, which crept in and twined themselves among this shining heap as they (205) straggled from the roof of the ciborium, upon which they had been cast. A dazzling ornament of an Anglo-Saxon minster was

[16] Rex (i.e. Cnut) deinceps nunquam coronam portavit; sed coronam suam super caput imaginis Crucifixi componens, magnum regibus futuris præbuit humilitatis exemplum: (Matthæus Westmonasteriensis, *Flor. Histor.* [R.S. xcv. i. 557]). On the day of his coronation, Henry II. in a manner imitated Cnut, for he never wore his crown afterwards: Post celebrationem divinorum sacramentorum, coronam super altare posuit, nec ultra coronam portavit.—Roger de Wendover, *Flor. Hist.* [R.S. lxxxiv. i. 16, 17].

The Corona.

Often was there to be seen suspended, high above this ciborium, a wide-spreading crown of lights, the cone-like form of which—composed of many circles made of silver, or of metal either gilt or brightly burnished, each narrowing its diameter as it arose above the other—must have looked, when all its hundred lamps were burning, like a cloud of fire hovering over the holy of holies.[17]

Incense

was not only burned, as now, at the most solemn celebration of the sacred mysteries in the Mass, and the other offices of the Church, in a thurible carried about in the hand;[18] but a very much larger kind of

[17] Ut cælum rutilat stellis fulgentibus, omnes
Sic tremulas vibrant subter testudine templi
Ordinibus variis funalia pendula flammas.

—Ethelwolf, *De Abb. Lindisf.* xx. [*P.L.* xcvi. 1341]. See also note 10, just given.

[18] Conveniunt omnes in ecclesiam beati Petri, ipse (Ceolfridus abbas) thure incenso et dicta oratione ad altare, pacem dat omnibus, stans in gradibus thuribulum habens in manu.—Beda, *Vita Abb.* ii. [ed. Plummer, i. 382]. One such thurible with its boat, each of silver, Bishop Leofric gave to Exeter: 1 silfren storcylle mid sylfrenum storsticcan—*Cod. Dip. Anglo-Saxonum*, iv. 275.

Incense, it seems, was, in olden times, often given and accepted among churchmen as a pledge of mutual goodwill; and a beautiful symbol. too, of holy friendship. Of the few things which St. Beda on his death-bed had to bestow, one was a little incense:

(206) Thurible, Hanging down from the Church's Roof,

or from an elegantly constructed framework upheld and surrounded by low columns,[19] was kindled,

"A nona hora dixit mihi," writes Cuthberth, in describing the dying moments of his beloved teacher, St. Beda, "quædam pretiosa in mea capsella habeo, id est, piperem, oraria, et incensa; sed curre velociter et presbyteros nostri monasterii adduc ad me, ut et ego munuscula, qualia Deus donavit, illis distribuam" (*Epist. Cuthberthi, Hist. Ecc. Ang.*) [ed. Plummer, i. p. clxiii.]. The same token of friendship we find passing between St. Boniface and his friends: Transmisimus enim per prædictum vestrum presbyterum aliquantum cozumbri, quod incensum Domino offeratis temporibus matutinis et vespertinis, sive dum Missarum celebratis solemnia, miri odoris atque fragrantiæ.—*Gemmulus Bonifacio*, in *S. Bonifacii Op.*, ed. Giles, i. 126.

The Anglo-Saxons had a form of prayer for the particular blessing of incense, much in its meaning as that for holy water. It may be seen in *Leofric Missal* 130, and the same rite was kept up afterwards in England, for the Exeter Pontifical has precisely the same form of prayer (p. 223). So blessed, they carried this incense about with them; for among the things which, if they lost, they were to do penance, one was incense. See note 11, p. 109.

[19] The anonymous Anglo-Saxon author of the verses on the church built by the abbess Bugga, about the year 725, thus describes this kind of hanging thurible:

> Hic quoque thuribulum capitellis undique cinctum
> Pendet de summo, fumosa foramina pandens;
> De quibus ambrosia spirabunt thura Sabæa,
> Quando sacerdotes Missas offerre jubentur.

[*P.L.* lxxxix. 290, or ci. 1311.] See p. 178, note 45.

The use at Rome of these hanging thuribles, is mentioned in the Life of Pope Sergius (A.D. 690): Hic (Sergius) fecit imaginem auream beati Petri Apostoli quæ est in parte mulierum. Fecit quoque thymiamaterium aureum majus, cum columnis et cooperculo: quod suspendit ante eamdem imaginem, in quo incensum et odor suavitatis festis diebus, dum Missarum solemnia celebrantur, omnipotenti Deo opulentius mittitur (*Liber Pontificalis*, i. 374). From this, it appears that, at Rome, these large golden thuribles

(207) upon great festivals, and made to spread throughout the holy pile clouds of the sweetest-

were suspended from a beam, which was upheld by several columns. Of such a kind, most likely, were the "quatuor turibula magna aurea et argentea," which the Norman William carried off with him from Waltham Abbey (*Vita et Mirac. Haroldi*, in *Harl. MS.* 3776). These large hanging thuribles were, no doubt, common in the greater Anglo-Saxon churches. The monk Æthelwolf says of them:

> Omnibus his rutilo capitellis undique cinctum
> Thuribulum pendet fabricatum cominus auro,
> De quibus altithrono spirabant thura Tonanti.

—*De Abb. Lindisf.* [*P.L.* xcvi. 1344].

This ceremony of burning incense during the holy sacrifice, in thuribles placed about the altar, was a long time, and probably is still, continued in some parts of the Catholic Church. The thuribles used for this particular purpose were made in the shape of cranes, as large as the living bird, and hollow, with a lid in the back to allow charcoal to be put in and kept burning. When the incense was sprinkled on the fire, and the lid shut, the odour came out through the beaks of these silver cranes, which stood near the altar during Mass. This we learn from Conrade, a writer of the twelfth century, who tells his readers that he saw in the treasury of the church of Mentz: Acerras argenteas et grues concavas tantæ magnitudinis, cujus vivæ, quæ solebant poni juxta altare hinc et inde, et dorso patebant, impositisque carbonibus et thure vel thymiamate fumum per guttura et rostra emittebant.—Conrad of Wöltelsbach, *Chron. Mogunt.* apud *Germaniæ Hist.*, ed. Urstinio, p. 567.

In a Spanish ship, captured during the last war by one of our frigates, was found a set of altar-plate, which is now at St. Mary's Catholic Church, Moorfields, London. Besides a chalice, a very large pix, and a crucifix, all gilt, there are two silver birds, highly ornamented with filigree work: but, though smaller, are otherwise exactly like those mentioned above by Conrade, and have evidently been used in the same way for holding some burning perfume, seemingly pastilles. Such silver birds may often be met with in the shops of London silversmiths, among the articles (many of them brought from abroad) of old plate which they strew out in their windows. To this day the Greeks burn incense before the picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary; and I remarked, while travelling, A.D. 1836, through Greece, that there were few houses which had not one or more pictures of the Mother of God, with a lamp

breathing (208) odours during the unbloody Sacrifice. Such a ceremony was in particular enacted to be observed (209) on the festivals of the Saints;[20] for they it is who are the lilies that gave out such a smell of sweetness, and which they shed abroad over all parts of the church at its beginning, just as the incense wafts its fragrance now throughout the material building.

Assuming as a fact that the Anglo-Saxons modelled their churches after a Roman type, such as may still be found in those venerable basilicas which are yet to be seen in the capital of the Catholic world, we shall perceive that they placed

The Bishop's Chair,

not made of wood or movable, but built up of stone[21] (210) and somewhat elevated,[22] at the fur-

hanging up before it, upon the flame of which, every now and then, the owner threw a grain or two of incense, but more especially on the afternoon of Saturday.

[20] In natale Sanctorum, incensum incendatur pro reverentia diei; quia ipsi sunt lilia quæ dedere odorem suavitatis, et primitus æcclesiam aspersere sicut spargit incensum.—Theodore, *Lib. Pœnit.* c. xlviii., Thorpe, ii. 57.

[21] Such was the position of the archiepiscopal chair in the primatial church of Canterbury; but, though leaning against the wall at the end of the presbytery, and far away from the isolated altar, oddly enough, that apse in which both chair and altar stood, was not at the east, but west end of the church; nor was that altar the high altar, which stood in the eastern apse, and not isolated, but close against the wall: Finis ecclesiæ ornabatur oratorio . . . ad hoc altare cum sacerdos ageret divina misteria, faciem ad populum qui deorsum stabat ad orientem, versam habebat, post se vero ad occidentem cathedram pontificalem decenti opere ex magnis lapidibus et cemento constructam, et hanc longe a

thermost part of the apse, against the wall, on the spot where the high altar is now erected. On either side of this chair, ran all around the bend of the apse a lower bench, upon which sat the dignified clergy and priests; hence the space within the apse, and as far as the altar, was known as

The Presbytery.

At the other or western side of the high altar, (211) and stretching itself somewhat into the body or nave of the church, as we know for certain from Anglo-Saxon writers,[23] lay

The Choir,

separated off from the women's part on the north, and from that of the men on the south,[24] by an

Dominica mensa remotam, utpote parieti ecclesiæ qui totius templi complexio erat omnino contiguam.—Eadmer [quoted by Gervase, *Chron.* (*R.S.* lxxiii. i. 8, 9)]. Eadmer, the monk of Canterbury, is most worthy of belief in this and other passages of his account of the Anglo-Saxon building, as to use his own words: Quippe qui propriis oculis omnia cum fierent intuitus sum, et diligentiori studio tenaci memoriæ commendavi.—*Ibid. in fin.*

This and other distributions in the old church of Canterbury Cathedral should, to my thinking, be looked on rather as the exceptions to, than the rules of arrangement in other Anglo-Saxon churches; and, most likely, were not of early but late adoption.

[22] Ut episcopus in æcclesia consessu presbiterorum sublimior sedeat.—*Excerptiones Ecgberti*, Thorpe, ii. 101. See also Amalarius, *De. Ecc. Off.* iii. 10. [*P.L.* cv. 1117].

[23] Occidua nitidi splendent in parte ministri
Qui modulis culmen cæli concentibus ornant.

—See note 8, p. 156.

[24] In conventu ecclesiastico seorsum masculi et seorsum fœminæ stant. Quod accepimus a veteri consuetudine . . . masculi stant in

enclosure not more than breast-high, for the minor clergy and the singers. Midway down the northern side of the choir, the pavement of which was lower than that of the presbytery, but higher than that of the rest of the church, there arose the greater pulpit, or

THE AMBO FOR THE GOSPEL,

which was raised some height above the wall of the choir and had two flights of stairs, one on the western, the other on the eastern side, where there sprang up a lofty candlestick for the Paschal (212) candle.[25] From this ambo,[26] the sermon,[27] whether

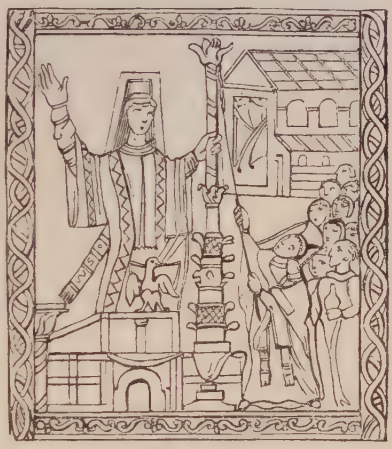
australi parte, et fœminæ in boreali.—Amalarius, *De. Ecc. Off.* iii. 2. [*P.L.* cv. 1104]. St. Beda notices that among the Jews the custom was for the men to be apart from the women: Seorsum viri, seorsum autem fœminæ choros ducentes incederent. *In Lucæ Ev.*, i. [*P.L.* xcii. 349].

[25] Pope Innocent III. mentions a curious ritual use for these columns, besides upholding the Paschal candle: In quibusdam basilicis circa medium chori, manipulus stuppæ super columnam appenditur, cui pontifex ignem apponit, ut in conspectu populi subito comburatur.—*De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*, ii. 9 [*P.L.* ccxvii. 804]. The tow is now burnt at the coronation only of the newly chosen pontiff, and not on the column, but from the top of a long silver staff, and is set on fire by a master of ceremonies.

The illumination from which we have borrowed the deacon standing in the "ambo," is one among many others ornamenting a long narrow roll of vellum, on which is written the hymn *Exultet*, sung by the deacon on Holy Saturday at the blessing of the Paschal candle. This curious manuscript is of the eleventh century, and once belonged to M. D'Agincourt, who has figured it (plate liii. of Painting) in his valuable *Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens.*

[26] In some of the churches in France these ambones, or as they were there called "lectoria," were not only built of marble, but highly adorned with silver, and even gold. The list of treasures belonging to St. Riquier's (A.D. 831) mentions such: In eisdem ecclesiis sunt lectoria tria ex marmore, argento, et auro fabricata.

preached by bishop or priest, was delivered, the decrees of synods[28] were promulgated, censures and excommunications were uttered, the diptychs[29] were read, and the Gospel chanted by the deacon[30] at Mass, and all those parts of the liturgy sung which belonged to the deacon's office: in doing which, (213) that minister went up into the ambo by the steps (214) on



The deacon singing the *Exultet* in the "ambo," on Holy Saturday, at the blessing of the Paschal candle.

—*Chron. Centul.* iii. 3, *Descriptio Thesau. S. Richarii* [*P.L.* clxxiv. 1257]. The splendour of such ambones may be imagined from the pulpit still to be seen sheathed in gilt silver, studded with great knobs of rock-crystal, and bordered with large carvings in ivory, on the south side of the choir at the great church of Aix-la-Chapelle. We may be sure the Anglo-Saxons did not allow themselves to be outdone by their Continental neighbours in the richness of their ambones.

[27] Sarnelli is wrong in saying, *Antica Basilicografia* (xxiii. 73), that the bishop never preached from the "ambo"; for we are told of Pope Nicholas I. (858–867), that he preached to the people on Christmas-eve from the "ambo" in the church of St. Mary Major's: Papa benignus fecit in ambone publice de ipso Rhothado sermonem, &c.—*Liber Pontificalis*, ii. 162.

[28] Instances may be seen in the above *Liber Pont.*, i. 477 (Bianchini, 281) [Stephen III., 768–772].

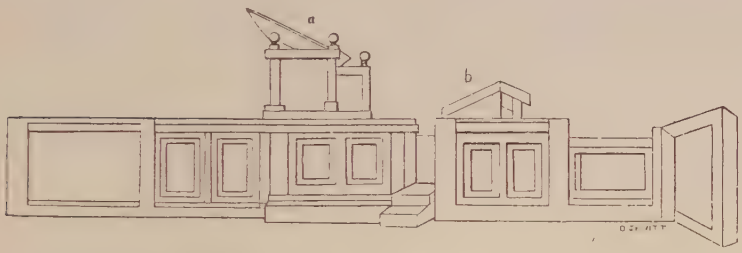
[29] An account of the diptychs may be seen in *Hierurgia*, ii. 689. The "Liber Vitæ" and the "Album" of the Anglo-Saxons answered the purpose in this country of the ancient diptychs in Greece and Italy. The "Liber Vitæ" of Durham, with its long

the eastern, and came down by those on the (215) western side.[31] Over against the ambo for

list of benefactors written in gold and silver letters, is now among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum, and marked Domit. 7. 2. The "Album" is mentioned by St. Beda, who begs of Eadfrith, bishop of Holy Island: Ut in Albo vestræ sanctæ congregationis meum nunc quoque nomen apponeret.—Beda, *Op. Hist.* [*P.L.* xciv. 735]. Another and later form of the diptychs, was what became known as "bidding the beads": on Sundays and holidays, a priest from the pulpit asked the prayers of the people for the living, and the dead, and of the latter, more especially, for those who had anywise benefited that church, or had bequeathed something to it, that their names might be set down and read in its weekly bead-roll—"bead" meaning prayer.

[30] Tribunal vocat Cyprianus gradum supra quem ascendit diaconus ad legendum . . . quid aliud quam supra pulpitum id est supra tribunal ecclesiæ oportebat imponi, ut loci altioris celsitate subnixus (diaconus) et plebi universæ pro honoris sui charitate conspicuus, legat præcepta et Evangelium Domini, &c.—Amalarius *De Ecc. Off.* iii. 18. [*P.L.* cv. 1124.] The symbolic reason why the deacon should go up into a high spot, whence he may sing forth the Gospel, is well given by Pope Innocent III: Diaconus ergo in ambonem ascendit, ut annunciet Evangelium, secundum illud propheticum: *Super montem excelsum ascende tu, qui evangelizas Sion, exalta in fortitudine vocem tuam.—De Sac. Altar. Myst.* ii. xlii. 43. [*P.L.* ccxvii. 824. The reference is to Isaiah xl. 9.] The Gospel is still sung from the "ambo" in some old churches, such as St. Mark's, Venice, and the cathedral of Torcelli, near that city. While travelling in the south of Spain, A.D. 1836, I heard the Gospel chanted in the splendid cathedral of Seville, from a kind of "ambo." The "ambones" were standing in the choir of Cluny, and used as of old, when De Moleon went his *Voyages Liturgiques de France* (p. 148, *ib.*, 1700–1718); he found them at the cathedral of Sens also, and in the church of St. Gervais, at Paris (*ib.* p. 162). They are often to be seen in the old churches of Italy, and especially at Rome; but even there, men either not knowing ecclesiastical antiquities, or not heeding their worth, have been allowed to pull several of these "ambones" down, so that a good Carmelite friar, Povyard, shocked at such a want of feeling, cries out: È veramente una disgrazia che questi monumenti (amboni) di architettura sagra spariscano cosi e diventino sempre più rari.—*Dissert. sopra l'anteriorità del Bacio de' piedi de' Som. Pont.* p. 22. The love in Italy for what was paganish in art, grew out of an

the (216) Gospel, there was another on the southern wall of the choir, and was



ANALOGIUM OF ST. CLEMENT'S, ROME.

a Marble desk where the Epistle was read. *b* A like sort of desk for the Lessons.

over-fondness for the classics that arose at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The new taste went on meddling with the churches of Rome till it spoiled St. John Lateran's itself, and crowded that venerable basilica with the whimsical perpetrations of Borromini. From Italy this wretched rococo style of architecture crept on to France and Germany; in both of which countries many most beautiful works of true Christian mediæval art were ruthlessly pulled down, to make room for huge, dull, ugly heaps of black and white marble. But in this invasion Cologne in particular has to mourn over its sad losses; in its cathedral there were two miracles of mediæval art—the lofty and exquisitely wrought tabernacle, in which used to be kept the blessed Eucharist, on the north side of the high altar (Crombach, *Hist. SS. Trium Regum*, p. 800): and the stand in the choir for the solemn chanting of the Gospel (Hartzheim, *Catal. Hist. MSS. Bib. Ecc. Colon.*, p. 119). Both are gone: in many of its fine old churches, the "ambones" which once graced each one of them, were swept away not very long ago.—Hartzheim, *ut supra*.

[31] Pope Innocent III has an entire chapter in his beautiful work, *De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*, concerning this usage, and tells us, Quare diaconus per unam partem ascendit in pulpitum, et per aliam descendit.—ii. 42 [*P.L.* ccxvii. 823].

In his exposition of the Mass, Remigius of Auxerre (*c.* A.D. 880) takes notice of the ceremony, still observed, of bearing lighted tapers before the book of the Gospels, as it was carried by the deacon to the lofty reading-desk: Defertur evangelium ad analogium, præcedentibus cereis.—*De Celeb. Missæ.* [*P.L.* ci. 1250.]

THE AMBO FOR THE EPISTLE AND LESSONS, OR ANALOGIUM,

which was not so lofty a kind of pulpit, though it (217) took up a greater length of the wall, and was divided into two compartments—a higher one, looking towards the altar, wherein the Epistle was sung by the sub-deacon—a lower one, looking towards the nave, for the reading of the lessons. To this analogium or ambo there was but one flight of steps, upon which the chanter [32] stood while he gave out the verses which were taken up and repeated by the singers below him, as a part of a psalm was chanted between the Epistle and the Gospel, and which from such a circumstance came to be called the *gradual*, because thus entoned upon the steps —gradus [33]—of the analogium, the form of which may be seen in the woodcut.

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[32] Postquam legerit (subdiaconus), cantor cum cantatorio ascendit in ambonem et legit.—*Ordo Romanus* i. n. 10, ed. Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* ii. 9. The "cantatorium" was the book of the graduals. Amalarius says, in his Preface to the Antiphonarium: Quod dicimus gradale, illi (Romani) vocant cantatorium. But the chanter was not to go into the reading-desk itself: Cantor ascendit non superius, sed stat in eodem loco ubi lector, et solus inchoat responsorium et cuncti in choro respondent, &c.—*Ordo Rom.* ii. n. 7, p. 45.

[33] Post responsorium, gradale psallitur; et dicitur responsorium, quod uno cessante hoc ipsum alter respondeat; gradale autem dicitur ad aliorum distinctionem responsorium (responsoriorum?) quod hoc in gradibus, hoc est in pogio psallatur.—*De Ordine Missæ MS. Bodl. Biblioth. Hatton.* 93, fol. 2, b. In very recent hand-writing, it is improperly called "De Officio Missæ"; whereas the true title of the work may be gathered from the first line: "Primum de Ordine Missæ," &c.

Honorius of Autun (A.D. 1130) gives us the derivation of the word

(218) From this choir, with its low enclosure and its lofty ambo and humbler reading-desk, a flight of steps [34] led up to the presbytery, the stone flooring (219) of which became, in consequence, from four to five feet above that of the singers, and thus made it easy to have beneath it an under-croft or subterranean chapel, with its own altar and the shrine of a saint.

Arising up, as the high altar almost always did, out of the middle of the pavement, quite by itself and far apart from the wall, a travelled reader will not unlikely ask, how must the Anglo-Saxon priest have stood as he offered up the holy Sacrifice;—used he to turn his face or his back to the

"gradual," thus: Gradale a gradibus dicitur, quia in gradibus canitur.—*Gemma Animæ*, i. 96 [Hittorp, 1208].

No doubt this lower reading-desk was meant by Archbishop Theodore, when he forbade any layman to go into the pulpit, even though he might wish to help the singers in chanting the Divine Service: Laicus in æcclesia juxta altare non debet lectionem recitare ad missam, nec in pulpito Alleluia cantare.—Theodore, *Lib. Pœnit.* c. xlviii. Thorpe, ii. 58.

[34] In his very precious account of the Anglo-Saxon minster at Canterbury, which he knew from having seen it before it took fire, Eadmer the monk first tells us of the high, and the morning altar, both of which stood in the presbytery, and then says: Ad hæc altaria nonnullis gradibus ascendebatur a choro cantorum quam criptam vel confessionem Romani vocant subtus erat ad instar confessionis Sancti Petri fabricata, cujus fornix eo in altum tendebatur ut superiora ejus non nisi per plures gradus possent adiri. Hæc intus ad orientem altare habebat, &c.—Eadmer [quoted by Gervase, *Chron.* (R. S. lxxiii. vol. i. p. 8)]. I have not followed the punctuation of Twysden, who makes a full stop after "vocant," which is clearly wrong; and I much doubt whether the present confused reading of this passage be the true one; may it not have been "quia cripta quam confessionem Romani vocant subtus erat," &c.?

people? Such a question is natural; for when it is known that at Rome,[35] not only in all the oldest basilicas, but even in the newest of them all—St. Peter's on (220) the Vatican—the Supreme Pontiff or the cardinal whom he allows to celebrate at the high altar in his stead, has his face and not his back kept to the crowds in the nave, all the while he is offering up solemn grand Mass; perhaps to some liturgists it may seem that the Anglo-Saxons, borrowing as they did the model of their churches together with their ritual immediately from Rome, would so raise their altars that their bishops and their priests must have looked the same way as the Pope does now—towards the great doors of the nave and the body of the congregation: there are weighty reasons which make us lean to quite the contrary opinion. 1. Following the universal practice, deemed, with but few exceptions, a binding rule throughout Christen-

[35] In any of the basilican churches at Rome, the celebrant who offers up the holy sacrifice at the high altar, which is still left in its old isolated standing-place, always keeps not his back, but his face, turned to the people; the altar being between him and them. That such must have been occasionally the form and position of the high altar in smaller churches, as well in Rome itself as elsewhere, is evident, not only from the altars themselves, which are still to be seen in them, but from the rubrics of the Roman Missal: Si altare sit ad orientem versus populum, celebrans versa facie ad populum, non vertit humeros ad altare, cum dicturus est *Dominus vobiscum*, *Orate fratres*, *Ite missa est*, vel daturus benedictionem: sed osculato altari in medio, ibi expansis et junctis manibus ut supra, salutat populum et dat benedictionem.—*Ritus celebrandi Missam*, *De Oratione*, v. 3. *Missale Romanum.*

dom,[36] the Anglo-Saxons, as (221) we know from documentary[37] and pictorial[38] testimonies, built their

[36] The Apostolic practice of turning towards the East at prayer, has been already shown in *Hierurgia*, ii. 725. Sidonius Apollinaris, the poetical bishop of Clermont (A.D. 472), in a letter to his friend Hisperius, while speaking of the "ecclesia nuper extructa Lugduni," thus sings of it:

> Ædes celsa nitet, nec in sinistrum,
> Aut dextrum trahitur, sed arce frontis
> Ortum prospicit æquinoctalem.

—*Epist.* II. x. [*P.L.* lviii. 487].

That during the sixth century the priest in Gaul at saying Mass stood with his face to the East, and his back to the people, is shown by the interesting account of St. Venantius, which we gave just now, p. 69; otherwise that holy man could never have seen "the ladder placed as it were at the window in the apse": Vidit quasi ad fenestram absidæ scalam positam.

[37] Wolstan, the monk of Winchester, describing (A.D. 990) a church built by Bishop St. Æthelwold, tells us that it was pointed to the East:

> Nam fundamenta ovans a cardine jecit Eoi
> Porticus ut staret ædificata Deo.

[*Epist. ad Elph. P.L.* cxxxvii. 110]; and the churches of Catholic England were always so built, as may be seen from almost every old village church in the kingdom. One deeply read in liturgical lore, Bellotte, pronounces him guilty of mortal sin who wilfully builds a church in any other direction than looking towards the East.—*Observ. ad Ritus Eccl. Laudunensis*, p. 132. What then would that learned dean of Laon say if he were to behold how this rule, coming down to us from the Apostolic times, has been so thoroughly overlooked and not cared for in some of our churches lately erected in this country? To the clergy it more immediately belongs to hinder the repetition of such a glaring fault: unless overpowered by the unyielding circumstances of a large town or crowded neighbourhood, they should never buy land which will not allow the church they mean to build upon it to be pointed to the East; and they ought never to trust in this matter too confidently on architects, of whom there are some who, if they be not forgetful of the thing, have so little knowledge of the variations of the needle, as to set the high altar looking twenty-two degrees away from the equinoctial point of sunrise. Even when

churches so as to lie due east (222) and west, and by their ritual put the priest, while at the Eucharistic sacrifice, standing between the people and the altar, that is, with his back to the nave and western door, and his face always to the east, exactly as is, a few basilican high altars at Rome excepted, now everywhere observed. 2. That even at Rome itself the rubric was for the Pontiff to sing Mass not with his face as now at St. Peter's, St. John Lateran's, St. Mary Major's, &c., but with (223) his back to the people, is evident from those venerable old rituals, the "Ordines Romani,"[39] which

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the ground will not lend itself to the strict due observance of this praiseworthy and time-honoured custom, still the chancel-end should be managed to face as near as possible to the East. An example might be brought, where the shape and direction of the ground were such as to allow the door-end of the nave not to open immediately on a crowded, bustling, noisy thoroughfare, but on a small grave-yard, thus affording the opportunity of having (from its being a private enclosure, and therefore beyond the prohibitions of the law) processions into and about the church; yet these advantages were lost by not having looked after the architect, who set out the building so as to lie N.W., instead of, as it might and ought, S.E. Nay, worse even than this, when the ground was quite free for the right orientation, a church is built N. and S. merely for the sake of showing itself well, shop-like, from the street.

[38] The woodcut given at p. 152, from the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, shows the bishop turned with his back to the altar, and his face towards the people whom he is blessing—a proof that the Anglo-Saxon celebrant stood in the same way while saying Mass as we do, with his face to the East, and the congregation behind him.

[39] For the Roman Pontiff to stand with his face, not his back to the people, as he sings solemn high Mass at St. Peter's and the other basilican churches, should be looked upon as the exception, and not the rule governing the Papal ritual; this is clear, from the rubrics of the earliest known "Ordo Romanus," which directs thus: Dirigens se Pontifex contra populum, incipit *Gloria in ex-*

were drawn up expressly for the papal ceremonials. 3. If it be asked, whence comes it then that the Pope, in celebrating on great festivals, turns his face to the people? we have to answer that such a rite is not the rule, but its exception, which drew a beginning from certain local difficulties. The oldest and most venerated basilican churches at Rome became places of Christian worship at such times, (224) and amid such a throng of untoward circumstances, as quite hindered the bishops of Rome from thinking of causing the altars in them to be placed so that the priest and people could both of them be turned towards the East at the hour of sacrifice. Many a large and now resplendent, isolated basilica, slowly grew up over the narrow lowly grotto hiding from pagan eyes the hallowed grave of a martyr, and of which the underground little oratory called the "confessional," beneath the high altar in so many old churches at Rome, is a token to this day: other

celsis Deo, et statim regyrat se ad orientem usque dum finiatur. Post hoc dirigens se iterum ad populum dicens *Pax vobis:* et regyrans se ad orientem, dicit *Oremus*, &c.—*Ordo Romanus*, i. ed. Mabillon; *Mus. Ital.* ii. 9. In his "Ecloga," which is a comment upon this "Ordo," after he had been and seen the ceremonies at Rome, Amalarius writes: Episcopus ad dexteram altaris stat . . . Stat versus ad orientem . . . Diaconi stant retro.—*Ecloga* [*P.L.* cv. 1315]. But in his earlier work on the Ecclesiastical Offices, Amalarius observes: Quando dicimus, *Pax vobiscum*, sive *Dominus vobiscum* quod est salutatio, ad populum sumus versi. Quos salutamus eis faciem præsentamus: excepto in uno, quod est in præparatione hymni ante *Te igitur.*—*De Ecc. Off.* iii. 9 [*Ibid.* 1115].

churches sprang out of a hall in some patrician convert's house then standing in a crowded neighbourhood. Under such circumstances, the Roman pontiffs did as best they might; and when peace and security smiled upon God's faithful ones, and the small room swelled up into a large church, owing to the awkwardness of the ground the new building often could not be so laid out as to let the people come in on the West side and stand worshipping towards the East. Still, such was their deep reverence for this ecclesiastical tradition, that rather than leave it out altogether, the Roman pontiffs overlooked the minor rule of the celebrant's having his back to the people, and told him to face his congregation, when by so doing he at least while sacrificing might be able to behold the Eastern sky. Hence the Anglo-Saxons followed the general rule for both priest and people to worship with their faces towards the East. This (225) they had been taught to do by their Roman mother, from whom we may easily imagine they learned that peculiar local obstacles standing in her way within the holy city, forced her there to allow of a contrary practice; but as such difficulties did not reach, so they were not to control them in the building and arrangement of the churches of this island.

Among the Anglo-Saxons, however, there were exceptions to general rules for the liturgy, and ecclesiastical architecture; since in Canterbury

Cathedral we find that, in the latter years of their epoch, the high altar stood close up against the east end of the presbytery,[40] and not by itself towards the choir, where its place had been taken by a smaller one called the morning altar;[41] and at (226) the far west end of the nave, in the oratory dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mary, the priest who said Mass there kept his face all the while to the people.[42] This custom of making both the

[40] Eadmer, the precentor of Canterbury, and friend of Archbishop St. Anselm, tells us: Venerabilis Odo corpus beati Wilfridi pontificis Eboracensium de Rhipun sublatum Cantuariam transtulerat, et . . . in majori altari quod in orientali presbiterii parte parieti contiguum de impolitis lapidibus et cemento extructum erat, digniter collocaverat [quoted by Gervase, *Chron.* (*R. S.* lxxiii. i. 7)]. Eadmer had known the Anglo-Saxon building before it had been burnt down in part during Lanfranc's time, who restored it.

[41] Porro aliud altare congruo spatio antepositum prædicto altari (*i.e.* majori) erat dedicatum in honorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi ubi cotidie divina mysteria celebrantur [*Ibid.* p. 8]. This must be the "altare matutinale" that he speaks of just after, over the grave of St. Dunstan. This morning altar is often spoken of in monastic rituals, as it stood at the east end of the choir, and was used for the early or less solemn of the two high Masses sung every day in large minsters. See vol. iv., Appendix. The "Missa Matutinalis" is mentioned by St. Dunstan in his *Regularis Concordia*. Let not the reader, however, take this to be what in later times used to go by the name of the "morrow Mass," which was Mass in black for the dead.

[42] Finis ecclesiæ ornabatur oratorio beatæ matris Dei Mariæ. Ad quod quia structura ejus talis erat, non nisi per gradus cujusvis patebat accessus. In cujus parte orientali erat altare in veneratione ipsius Dominæ consecratum et in eo caput beatæ virginis Austrobertæ habebatur inclusum. Ad hoc altare cum sacerdos ageret divina mysteria, faciem ad populum qui deorsum stabat ad orientem, versam habebat.—*Eadmer*, ut supra [pp. 8, 9]. The higher rubric of always saying Mass turned toward the East, no doubt superseded the lower one of having his back to the people, in the estimation of the Anglo-Saxon priest.

east and west end of a church terminate in a deep apse, with an altar in each, was not in these times uncommon,[43] as the south door used to be then always (227) the principal, very often the only entrance into the sacred building, at least in this country.[44]

As with the English, so with the Anglo-Saxons, the custom was to have

Many Altars in the same Church:[45]

and by the canons in force at both periods, it was (228) required that the name of the saint[46] under

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[43] In the old cathedral of Cologne there were two choirs; one at the East, dedicated to the honour of St. Peter, the other at the West end, dedicated in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary.—Crombach, *SS. Trium Regum Hist.*, p. 697. Talking of the venerable cathedral at Treves, Martene says: Il y a deux chœurs aux deux bouts, comme dans l'église de Besançon, et dans celle de Liège.—*Voyage Lit.*, ii. 296.

[44] Duæ turres erant prominentes ultra ecclesiæ alas. Quarum una quæ in austro erat . . . habebat et in latere principale hostium ecclesiæ, quod antiquitus ab Anglis et nunc usque Suthdure dicitur. Quod hostium in antiquorum legibus regum suo nomine sæpe exprimitur.—Eadmer [*ut supra*, p. 8].

[45] Novum præcelsa mole sacellum
. . . . . .
Qua fulgent aræ bis seno nomine sacræ;
Insuper absidam consecrat Virginis ara.

Carmen ad Templum Buggæ, inter Op. Alcuini, ii. 549 [*P.L.* ci. 1310]. St. Aldhelm is now looked on as the writer of this short poem, which may be seen in his works, edited by Dr. Giles, p. 115.

Ast nova basilicæ miræ structura diebus
Præsulis hujus erat jam cœpta, peracta, sacrata,
. . . . . .
Quæ triginta tenet variis ornatibus aras.

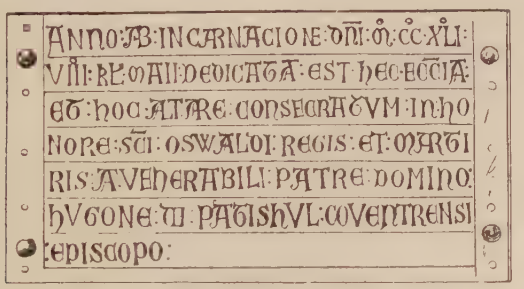
—*De Pontif. Eborac.* [line 1595, *P.L.* ci. 842].

[46] Habet hæc (ecclesia SS. Apost. Petri et Pauli) in medio pene sui altare in honore beati papæ Gregorii dedicatum.—Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 3. § 96.

whose invocation each altar had been erected to Almighty God, should be written either upon a tablet affixed to the altar itself, or somewhere near upon the walls of the sacred edifice.[47] Besides

[47] Præcipimus unicuique episcopo ut habeat depictum in pariete oratorii, aut in tabula, vel etiam in altaribus, quibus sanctis sint utraque dedicata (*Synodus Calchuthensis*, cap. ii. *De modo consecrandi ecclesias;* Wilkins, *Concil.* i. 169). William de Bleys, Bishop of Lincoln (A.D. 1229), enacted precisely the same canon: In ecclesiis dedicatis, annus et dies dedicationis, et nomen dedicantis, et nomen Sancti in cujus honore dedicata est ecclesia, distincte et aperte scribantur circa majus altare, in loco ad hunc idoneo: idem fiat circa minora altaria.—*Constitutiones Wil. de Bleys;* Wilkins, *Concil.* i. 624.

How such a ritual usage was followed may be seen from various monuments yet existing. In the under-croft of Canterbury Cathedral, on the moulding, just above the spot where an altar stood, might—perhaps may be still—read: ✠ Hoc altare dedicatum fuit in honorem Sči Gabrielis Archangeli—and Dart's *Canterbury Cath.*, p. 34, gives an engraving of this under-croft, with the



DEDICATION PLATE, ASHBOURNE CHURCH.

many figures painted in "secco" on its walls. In Ashbourne Church, Derbyshire, is to be viewed the small original dedication-brass, which had fallen into private hands in the town, but has now happily found its way back, and is let into the south buttress, under the tower, where I lately took a rubbing of its inscription, which runs thus: Anno: Ab: Incarnatione: Dñi M°CC XLI°. VIII°: Kl: Maii: Dedicata: Est: Hec. Ecclia: Et: Hoc: Altare: Consecratum: In: Honore: Sči: Oswaldi: Regis: Et: Martiris: A: Venerabili: Patre: Domino: Hugone: De: Patishul: Coventrensi: Episcopo. This plate measures 6½ inches by 4 inches; the writing is very good.

its under-croft,[48] (229) which an Anglo-Saxon minster seems always to have had, the triforium[49]

[48] From the account which Richard, prior of Hexham, gave (A.D. 1180) of the great church which St. Wilfrid built there, and has been described by the archbishop's friend, Eddi, as we have just now observed (note on p. 149), we learn, that beside those in the body of the minster itself, there were many chapels below, in the under-croft, as well as upstairs in those long passages running all about the church over the aisles. So hidden were these oratories, that a great number of people might be at prayer in them without being seen by any one down in the church—from which, up to these chapels, it was easy to go, by means of winding staircases: Igitur profunditatem ipsius ecclesiæ criptis et oratoriis subterraneis, et viarum anfractibus, inferius cum magna industria fundavit. In ipsis vero cocleis, et super ipsas ascensoria ex lapide et deambulatoria et varios viarum anfractus modo sursum, modo deorsum artificiosissime ita machinari fecit, ut innumera hominum multitudo ibi existere et ipsum corpus ecclesiæ circumdare possit, cum a nemine tamen infra in ea existentium videri queat. Oratoria quoque quam plurima superius et inferius secretissima et pulcherrima in ipsis porticibus cum maxima diligentia et cautela constituit in quibus altaria...cum eorum apparatibus honestissime præparari fecit. Unde etiam usque hodie quædam illorum ut turres et propugnacula supereminent. (Ricardus Prior Hagustaldensis, *De Statu et Epis. Hagus. Ecc.*, ed. Twysden, i. 290, 291.) The under-croft at Winchester must have been no insignificant part of the church built there by St. Æthelwold, if we may believe the poetical description of the monk Wolstan, who sings of it:

> Insuper occultas studuistis et addere cryptas
> Quas sic Dædaleum struxerat ingenium.

—[*Epist. ad Elf.*, *P.L.* cxxxvii. 110.]

[49] That such a custom of having little oratories upstairs in that part of the church called by Gervase, the monk of Canterbury, the "triforium," was retained after the Saxon period, and continued, in some places, even to the reign of Henry VIII., is certain. When rebuilding that part of his Anglo-Saxon cathedral which had been burnt down, Archbishop Lanfranc restored those high chapels at Canterbury. This we incidentally learn from a passage in St. Wilfrid's life written by Eadmer, who tells us: Nocte festivitatis extra chorum in quodam edito ipsius ecclesiæ loco coram altari super quod tunc temporis reliquiæ beati Wilfridi in feretro erant locatæ. Cumque ad lectiones et responsoria ventum esset, eos qui vel legere

or gallery running all (230) around the church over the aisles or "porticus," must, from the descriptions that have reached us, (231) have had many small chapels with an altar in each of them, built in this upper part of the church.

By the Anglo-Saxons

THE HIGH-ALTAR AND THE SMALLER ONES WERE BUILT OF STONE,[50]

except in a very few instances, and then a consecrated altar-stone was let into the wooden frame, or a super-altar was placed upon it, otherwise Mass could not have been lawfully celebrated.[51] When

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vel cantare debebant, per cocleam ascendere et coram altari et corpore beati viri quasi pro benedictione supplicare contemplatus est (Alfwinus). Quo facto mox redeundo descendebant.—*Ex. MS. in Bib. Col. Corporis Christi, Cantab.* cui titulus *Breviloquium vitæ S. Wilfridi*, num. ccclxxi., p. 86.

Many of such upstair-chapels are still to be seen in one of the most interesting churches, not only in England, but in Europe—Gloucester Cathedral.

In the greater part of our collegiate and cathedral churches, as the "triforium" did not lead to chapels, its use was chiefly for the sacristan's men, who had the hanging of the walls in the nave (but the choir especially) with beautiful silk palls, often exquisitely embroidered. This we gather from Gervase, who says: Supra murum, via erat quæ triforium appellatur. But a little before he lets us know why such a passage was made: In circuitu vero ad altitudinem fornicis . . . via quædam facta est qua pallia et cortinæ possent suspendi [*Chron.*, (R.S. lxxiii. pp. 11, 15)].

[50] Evasit autem ignem altare, quia lapideum erat.—Beda, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 14.

[51] We enjoin, that no priest, on any account, ever celebrate Mass, except on a hallowed altar.—*Canons* (31*st*) *enacted under K. Edgar*, Thorpe, ii. 251.

If a priest, without a hallowed altar, celebrate Mass, let him pay xii ores.—*Law of the Northumbrian Priests*, ibid. 293, note 14.

(232) of stone, they were blessed with much solemnity and anointed with holy oils by the bishop, the latter part of which ceremony was forbidden to be done to wooden altars.[52]

Whenever it was solemnly consecrated, the stone altar not only received the rite of unction from the hand of the officiating prelate, but the sacred body of our Lord in the Eucharist was enclosed, along with the relics of saints, within it.[53] In shape the altar was not, like ours, always oblong, but often square.[54] Whether of stone or of wood, the (233) material itself with which those altars were raised was always worked quite plain,[55] and they received their decoration, not from the ornaments and figures carved upon them, but more fittingly

[52] Altaria nisi lapidea, chrismatis unguine non consecrentur.—*Excerp. Ecgberti*, can. lii. *ibid.* p. 104.

[53] See notes on pp. 35, 36.

[54] The altar in St. Æthelwold's benedictional, as may be observed in our woodcut of it, p. 152, is square; and so is the curious old Anglo-Saxon super-altar, found, not many years ago, in the grave of a bishop at Durham Cathedral, figured in Raine, *St. Cuthbert.* St. Beda mentions the square altar standing, during his time, in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, at Jerusalem: Lapis, qui ad ostium monumenti positus erat, nunc fissus est; cujus pars minor quadratum altare ante ostium nihilominus ejusdem monumenti stat; major vero in orientali ejusdem ecclesiæ loco quadrangulum aliud altare sub linteaminibus extat.—Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, v. 16. Martene saw an old square altar standing in the monastic church of Tours: In Turonensi majori monasterio in æde sanctis Septem Dormientibus sacra cernitur antiquissimum altare, quatuor circiter pedum in quadrum.—*De Antiq. Ecc. Ritibus*, lib. i. c. iii. art. vi. § viii.; and square altars are often to be seen figured in old illuminations, three examples of which may be found in Gerbert, *Monumenta Vet. Liturg. Alem.*, pp. 234, 235.

[55] See Eadmer's description, note 40, p. 177, for the Anglo-Saxon high-altar of Canterbury Cathedral.

from movable adornments, such as splendid frontals and magnificent palls.[56] Often were those

FRONTALS

made of thick plates of gold or silver, exhibiting the figures of Christ and the saints standing out in bold relief from a ground sparkling with gems of no mean price; the palls, if not always, were often of the richest purple dye, woven of fine silk, and edged with golden borders. At the more solemn festivals, the high-altar, in the richer churches, was sheathed in a gold or silver frontal studded with precious stones, while in the less wealthy ones, it was gracefully shrouded in the folds of a costly silken pall; on lower festivals, less splendid but always seemly coverings arrayed the altar in (234) both one and the other. But when the season for mourning came; or when, at due time, the Church, in her dolefulness, threw aside her ornaments, and wept, as in holy week, over the buffets and scourgings and the bitter throes of Christ nailed on the rood-tree, the plain altar-front, instead of needing, like some modern ones, to be muffled up to hide its gilding and its brightly coloured sculptures, all ill suited to be seen on such a day of sadness and of mourning,

[56] Aurea contortis flavescunt pallia filis
Quæ sunt altaris sacri velamina pulchra.
—*Carmen ad Templum Buggæ*, ii. 550 [*P.L.* ci. 1311]; and further on, notes 58 and 60 of this work.

stood forth — as the spirit of the rubrics has always wished it—an emblem of the Church's heart at the time, sorrowful, and in its own simple unadorned appearance, stripped of its smallest, even its every-day comeliness as well as its casual splendours. Naked,[57] like Christ himself upon the cross, the altar presented a touching symbol of sadness, and brought to mind that he who was beautiful beyond the sons of men, lowered himself so much for our sake and fulfilled those words of the prophet Isaias: "There is no beauty in him nor comeliness: and we have seen him, and there was no sightliness, that we should be desirous of him; despised, and the most abject of men, a man (235) of sorrows, and acquainted with infirmity" (chap. liii. vv. 2, 3).

The Norman English, by the way in which they built their altars of plain stone, and afterwards ornamented them, as the Anglo-Saxons did, with

Movable Frontals,[58]

corresponding as they ought in richness and splendour (236) to the solemnity of the day, carried out

[57] At the end of one of his chapters, headed "Cur altaria nudentur," in explaining the ceremonies of Holy Week, Rupert (A.D. 1111) says: Cum ergo altare Christum significet, recte ob commemorationem horum vestitu et ornatu suo spoliatum est.—Rupert (Abb. Tuitiensis), *De Div. Off.*, v. 30 [Hittorp, 955].

[58] The golden frontal, or so-called "palla," of St. Ambrogio's, Milan, wrought in the ninth century by a goldsmith (probably an Anglo-Saxon) named Wolvinus, and accurately figured by Ferrario in his *Basilica Ambrogiana*, together with the emperor

this beautiful symbolism of the ancient Church. Such (237) a practice lasted, with unabated force,

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Henry's splendid gift to the cathedral of Basle—the frontal of gold, gemmed with precious stones, which was a few years ago exhibited in London, and is figured in the interesting work of De Sommerard's, *Les Arts du Moyen Age*—will afford an idea of the rich frontals which the Anglo-Saxons put to their altars, from the table of the altar itself, down in front, to the ground. The very beautiful wooden frontal belonging to one of the altars in Westminster Abbey, found quite through accident by Mr. Blore, and now hanging up, under a glazed frame, over the money-taker's head, at the iron railings, in the south aisle of the choir, is not only a fine example of what such a piece of church ornament was in the reign of Henry III., but its elaborate mouldings, and exquisitely illuminated panels, show to what a height of gracefulness and perfection the arts had reached in England before they did in Italy. Of other kinds of hanging frontals, specimens may be still found about the country. Belonging to the church of Steeple Aston, near Banbury, there is a white silk frontal, of about the end of Edward III.'s reign. Though now sadly faded, one sees that once it must have been handsome, was highly enriched with gold, and well embroidered with subjects referring to the life and death of the B. V. Mary. P. Howard, Esq., M.P., has at Corby a very rich crimson velvet frontal, profusely embroidered, but of a somewhat late period.

Perhaps every reader may not know that the frontal means the movable ornamental front, whether of metal, wood, or loose silk, put close to the fore-part of the altar, reaching from the table, or upper surface, down to the ground. The frontals should be of the same colour with the vestments of the festival. Formerly, the frontals of silk not only veiled the front, but also the two sides of the altar. The modern term for designating the frontal is "antependium" amongst us; the Roman missal calls it "pallium," and in Italy it is known as the "paliotto."

Mr. Way has fallen into a mistake in saying that the "frontal must not be confounded with the permanent decoration of the fore-part of the altar, properly termed *tabula*, or *tablementum*, which was formed either of sculptured or painted work, and sometimes of the most precious metals, chased, enamelled, and set with gems," &c.—*Promtorium Parvulorum*, i. 181. "Frontale" and "tabula" mean the same ornament for the altar, just as "casula" and "planeta" mean the same vestment for the priest.

throughout this country, up to the unhappy change in religion; (238) it still lasts on the Continent, and

It is true, however, that when made of any of the metals, or of wood, the frontal was generally called "tabula."

Above, but behind, the altar, there was hung, against the wall, another piece of rich silk, of the same suit with the frontal and altar-curtains, sometimes beautifully embroidered with a passage from Scripture, or the life of a saint. This was called the super-frontale, or upper frontal; and in some great churches there were frontals, the subjects embroidered upon which, being illustrative of some one or other of the chief festivals, were only hung up on the day of its celebration. Thus Anthony, Bishop of Durham (A.D. 1285): Duas baudekenis (sic) historiam Nativitatis Dominicæ continentes obtulit; et eas ad ornandum majus altare in festo Natalitii assignavit.—*Hist. Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres* (Surtees Soc.), p. 70. And among the bequests to the same cathedral of Durham, by another of its prelates, the learned Bishop Bury, we find: Vestimentum de alba camica subtiliter brudata cum . . . ij pannis pro altari ejusdem brudaturæ cum historia Nativitatis Dominicæ et Dormicionis et Assumpcionis ejusdem Matris gloriosæ; quod, viz. vestimentum idem episcopus fieri fecerat in honorem Virginis Mariæ pro eodem altari, et ij curtinas albas stragulatas pro cornibus altaris.—*Wills and Inventories, &c., of the Northern Counties of England* (Surtees Soc.), p. 25. Sometimes this upper frontal was called a "rerdose"; for among other gifts to Durham Cathedral, left by Bishop Hatfeld (A.D. 1381), were: Unum rerdose broudatum cum crucifixo et imaginibus, duas ridellas, ij touellas cum j frunter et j corporale. —*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, p. cliii. Matthew Paris is somewhat singular in calling this upper frontal the "super-altare" (*Vitæ S. Albani Abbatum*, pp. 71, 80, ed. Wats., Paris, 1644 [R.S. xxviii. Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum*, i. 233, 282]).

Maybe earlier, but certainly towards the end of the fifteenth century, the custom was, in our English churches, to have, as now, a low, narrow step, or, as it was then still better called, a "shelf," resting on the inner edge of the altar-stone, where it touches the wall. Upon this step were put the two candlesticks, with the crucifix between them, as well as vases with flowers and reliquaries, as is our present custom. It, too, had its own little hangings, alike in colour and materials to those before the altar; for we find mention made of: A frontell for the schelffe standyng on the altar, of blue sarsenet, with brydds (birds?) of golde, &c.—*Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary Hill, London*, A.D. 1486, illust. &c. by Nichols, p. 113.

is enjoined by the rubrics of the Roman Missal.[59] Let those, (239) then, who are so highly blessed

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Not unfrequent mention is made of the

"*Frontellum or Frontlet.*"

This was of the same stuff and colour as the lower frontal, but not more than about six inches wide, and of an equal length with the altar. Often it exhibited the most beautiful ornaments and embroidery, and was sewed on to one of the three linen altar-cloths, in such a way as, by falling over the upper part of the frontal, to hide the space where the latter reached up to the altar-stone. Among the things which formed Bishop Pudsey's mortuary to his cathedral of Durham, were: Quatuor lintheamina pro altari subtiliter consuta, ij sine frontellis et tertium cum frontella brudata cum ymagine Sanctæ Trinitatis et xij Apostolis deauratis, circa quorum capita sunt perli insuti, et quartum cum frontello de serico.—*Wills and Inventories*, p. 3. Along with many other ornaments for the altar, Bishop Thomas de Cobham bequeathed to his cathedral of Worcester: Towallos altaris cum frontello de armis consuto (A.D. 1327).—*Monasticon Anglic.*, i. 575. In the inventory of the goods belonging at his death to Walter, Bishop of Durham, were: Aliud vestimentum de panno serico albo . . . cum frontali habente salutacionem beatæ Virginis et subfrontale plano, &c. Item unum vestimentum de panno aureo blanco . . . cum frontali superiori habente ymaginem crucifixi, beatæ Mariæ et Sancti Johannis, subfrontali plano de eodem panno et j tual cum frontali stricto.—*Testamenta Eboracensia*, i. 321. The list of church furniture belonging (A.D. 1471) to Cobham College, Kent, mentions: VI. Panni altar. cum suis frontellis, et VII. alii sine frontellis cum ij. debilibus.—Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, p. 240. To these narrow frontlets were attached party-coloured fringes, as we learn from the accounts of St. Mary's Church, Sandwich: For iiij ounces ij quarters of ffrenge and a half of sylke rede and whyte and grene to serve for frontell for ye hy autre prec. de once xv *d.*, sum. vj *s.* viij *d.* . . . for bleu bokeram for ye cheff frontell vj *d.*—Boys, *Hist. of Sandwich*, p. 364. The shape and distribution of each of these three kinds of frontal will be seen in the illustrations we have given from illuminated manuscripts. The sternness of the Cistercian rule goes so far as to forbid all kind of decoration in the churches of that order, and disallows ornament even in the vestments and things used about the altar itself; hence, so early as A.D. 1199, it made an ordinance against employing this sort of narrow-fringed frontlet: Prohibetur ne

by God, as to have the happiness of building a church for the Catholic (240) worship of his holy

in altaribus nostris habeantur nappæ limbatæ.—*Statuta Ordinis Cister.* in Martene, *Thes. Anecd.* iv. 1293. By the decrees, however, of one of our national councils, that of Exeter, held A.D. 1287, it was enjoined that such a frontlet, or, as it is there called, apparel, should be attached to one of the blessed altar-cloths, whether at the high-altar, or at any of the smaller altars of a church, whenever Mass was said at them: Sint . . . quatuor tuellæ ad majus altare quarum saltem duæ sint benedictæ, et una illarum cum parura; item ad quodlibet altare cum contigerit missam inibi celebrari.—Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii. 139.

All kinds of frontals, whether of silk, of wood, or of the precious metals, like those splendid ones for the high-altars of Winchester, Fountains, Lincoln, Glastonbury, St. Alban's, and Peterborough, were never permanent, but movable; for according to the old English use of Salisbury, as well as of the Benedictine order, all the altars in each church were stripped quite bare on Maundy Thursday, and left thus naked until late on Holy Saturday: the Roman use still preserves this ceremony. Not only were the altars denuded, but they were all washed with wine and water in a solemn manner. According to the statutes of some churches, it was expressly ordained that their rich frontals of gold and silver should be put up before the altars, only on some of the higher festivals of the year; a regulation which would have been idle, had those frontals been permanently fixed to them. Of one of the bishops of Saltzburg it is particularly recorded, that: Tabulam ex auro purissimo, quæ in diebus festis ante altare ponitur, fabrili opere compegit.—*Catalogus Epis. Salish.*, iv. 141. Among many other articles of church-plate stolen by Henry VIII. from Fountains Abbey, was: One table for the high-altar on principal days, with three images of silver-gilt, with beads and plate of silver, and some parts of gold, set with stones, valued at £90 or £94 (*Monasticon Anglic.*, v. 290). Our Anglo-Saxon frontals of gold or silver were likewise movable, and not permanently fixed to the altar, as is shown by the quickness and ease with which the splendid golden one, the gift of King Witlafe to Croyland minster, was taken from the high-altar and hidden by the monks, just as the pagan Danes were within sight and hurrying forwards to plunder that religious house: Tabulam magni altaris laminibus aureis contectam quam rex Withlafius aliquando dederat . . . in fontem claustri projecerunt (Ingulph. *Hist. Croyland* [ed. W. de Gray Birch, 1883, p. 36]). Such, too, must have been the

name, carefully watch that, in this, as well as in every other architectural arrangement (241) and

beautifully wrought frontal of silver with which St. Æthelwold, while abbot of the monastery of Abingdon, aided by the munificence of King Edgar, enriched its church: Opitulante etiam piissimo rege Eadgaro memorandæ memoriæ abbas Athelwoldus tabulam fecit argenteam pretio adpretiatam trecentarum librarum cujus etiam materiam forma exsuperabat artificialis; quæ etiam usque ad tempus Vincentii abbatis illæsa permansit et inconfracta (*Monasticon Anglic.*, i. 516). If these Anglo-Saxon frontals were beautiful and costly, so too were those in use among the English, who, like their predecessors, brought out the gold and silver frontals on holidays only, as we may see by the following notices: Lanfrancus archiepiscopus...fecit ecclesiæ nostræ (Roffensi)...tabulam argenteam ante majus altare (Thorpe, *Regist. Roffense*, p. 120). Ernulfus episcopus...in tabula argentea ante majus altare accrevit duas listas de esmalo (*Ibid.* p. 120). Mater illorum...dedit pallium optimum, quod solet esse principale ante majus altare, absente tabula argentea (*Ibid.* pp. 129, 130). Paris archidiaconus dedit pallam que solet esse in secundis festis principalibus ante altare (*Ibid.* p. 123). Tabulam quoque unam, ex auro et argento, et gemmis electis, artificiose constructam ad longitudinem et latitudinem altaris Sancti Albani, quam deinde, ingruente maxima necessitate, idem Abbas in igne conflavit et in massam redegit. (Matthew Paris, *Vit. Abb.*, ed. Wats., Paris, 1644, p. 40, col. 2 [R. S. xxviii., Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum*, i. 93, 94]). This beautiful altar frontal of gold and silver was, I fear, not the only one melted down, in a day of need, by the monks themselves; for a like end seems to have awaited that which the good Abbot of Glastonbury, Herlwin (A.D. 1101) bestowed upon his church: Fecit...altare quod cum Johanni Cremensi ostensum, primo enormitate pretii ejus hebetasset animum, mox si Romæ haberetur centum marcis auri estimatum esset (William of Malmesbury, *De Antiq. Glaston. Ecc.*, ed. Gale, iii. 333). One of the last abbots of the same house made up for the loss, since we read that: "Bere made a rich altare of sylver and gilt: and set it afore the High Altare."—Leland, *Itinerary*, iii. 103.

[59] Pallio quoque ornetur (altare), coloris, quoad fieri potest, diei festo vel officio convenientis.—*Rubricæ Generales Missalis*, cap. xx. *De præp. Altaris.*

Some of our architects having no knowledge of English ecclesiastical antiquity, nor of rubrics still in force, and whose love for the pretty outweighs that for the becoming in ornament, strive,

decoration, not only the ancient traditions of our fatherland, but the spirit of the Church (242) in her rubrics, be faithfully and religiously kept up. But

(243) ALTARS AND ALTAR-STONES

form a subject to the ecclesiastical antiquary of so (244) deep an interest, that we must not go by and bestow upon it the hasty glance of a short note.

whenever they can have their own way, to put up altars with stone frontals, not only elaborately carved, but gilt, and painted with many colours. Not having any old warrant for this at home, they go abroad, and cite the example of the high-altar in Cologne Cathedral. During the autumn of last year (1847), I spent part of three days in that city, and several times visited the church. Without being told by its historian, old father Crombach, one needs only look about to know what sad architectural alterations have been, not very long ago, perpetrated in the choir and about the high-altar of that far-famed Domkirche. After a lengthened and a leisurely near examination of this frontal, I am confident that originally it was no frontal at all, but the reredose of an altar such as ornamented many of our own churches, and of which examples may often be met with figured in illuminated manuscripts. Our Blessed Lady and the Apostles each side of her, every one standing beneath his own canopy-head upheld by narrow buttresses, are all in white marble, sculptured late in the fourteenth, or at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and lean against a shining slab of black marble. The mouldings wrought upon this black ground for the white figures, have nothing of the Gothic style about them, and are of that kind to be found in the works of the seventeenth century. This white and black frontal covers the fore-part only of the altar; for the north and south ends, or small sides, are left quite bare of a like or any sort of ornament, which would not have been so, had this frontal been original, and not altered from a reredose above the altar in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to become the lower part or frontal of the high-altar dedicated in honour of St. Peter. When there is grand Mass at this altar, the sculptured frontal is covered by a silken one corresponding to the vestments, as I witnessed the Sunday morning I went to the cathedral.

Though so very few of the thousands of

Altars erected in this country before the change in the National Religion

are left standing, those however which by some happy chance do remain, are enough in number to let us see an example of every form in which an altar could possibly be erected. In the Abbot's Chapel at Gloucester Cathedral, the altar-slab rests, on the east side, upon a low wall; on the west, it was upheld at each of its two corners by a thick low column, of which the one on the south side is broken, the other remains entire. In Astel Church, near Burford, Oxon, in a beautiful chantry chapel, there is a very small altar, resting in like manner on two pillars, to the southern one of which is attached a little sacrarium. At Broughton Castle, near Banbury, in a very fine domestic chapel, stands the old altar quite uninjured, and though consisting of a thick slab of black marble, two feet and a quarter broad by six feet long, it rests merely upon three large brackets coming out of the wall. In the under-croft of Bedale Church, Yorkshire, may be seen a small altar resting on a window-sill, and projecting but slightly from it, as it appears sketched in the *Archæological Journal*, iii. 258. But the most common form of our English altars was an unbroken oblong square, cut out of plain unadorned stone, having a thick whole slab of stone, or, if possible, marble, on the upper or table part. Old Leland takes notice, that "there is an exceding long and faire altare stone *de vario marmore, hoc est, nigro albis maculis distincto,* at the high altare in the collegiate paroche chirch of Darington."—*Itinerary*, i. 71.

(245) The so-called altar at Enstone has been sadly knocked about: perhaps the stone on the top of it may have been the original one; if so, it was pulled

off, broken in two, and the fragments put back again, but upside down. A specimen of what the body of the altar was in the rough, is still to be found standing in the church at Arundel: another, most likely late Anglo-Saxon, in a small chapel, now called the "chamber of the pix," entered from the east side of the cloister at Westminster Abbey. Neither the altar at Arundel nor that at Westminster has the slightest kind of ornament wrought in front: their construction might be aptly described in the words of Eadmer, quoted just now while speaking of an Anglo-Saxon altar, nay, the high altar itself of Canterbury Cathedral: In majori altari quod de impolitis lapidibus et cemento extructum

erat.—See note 40, p. 177. Upon every altar-stone were always cut at least five crosses, as above: Sometimes, however, there were as many as nine, as upon the one at Broughton Castle.

What are called, strictly speaking,

Altar-stones,

may be distinguished into three kinds: 1. Such as the large heavy oblong square slab just mentioned, immovably fixed upon the top of the cube of stonework forming the body of the altar. 2. The movable altar-stone. 3. The super-altar.

1. Regarding the first sort; however long the altar upon which it lay, this slab had to be of one unbroken (246) piece, and of a length and breadth to allow its stretching out beyond the body of the altar itself a few inches on three of its four sides: the unbroken whole-

ness of this stone was a symbol of the unbrokenness of the Church, and the oneness of her belief: Per altare signatur Ecclesia, juxta quod Dominus dixit in Exodo: *Si altare lapideum feceris mihi, non ædificabis illud de sectis lapidibus.* Quod sectionem lapidum prohibet in altari, divisionem fidelium reprobat, ne ecclesia dividatur per errores et schismata.—Innocent, *De Sac. Altaris Mys.*, ii. 3. [*P.L.* cclxvii. 803. The reference is to Exod. xx. 25.] Hence all altar-stones, though of the largest size, were of one solid piece.

At the Church's dedication, within the body of each altar were put the relics of a saint, and over them one of these weighty slabs of stone, which was permanently fixed by masons there and then, and afterwards solemnly consecrated by the bishop, who poured out the holy oil and chrism and burned incense upon it at the middle and four corners, where we often find the old crosses still having that sharpness with which they were first cut. To get fire for burning the incense strewed in little grains over these five spots on the stone, wax tapers were, and still are, cut into short lengths, and two of them laid cross-wise upon each heap of incense, and then lighted at the four ends all at the same moment. In the Exeter Pontifical, lately printed, is this rubric: Deinde ponatur incensum in medio altaris et in quatuor cornubus, et super ponantur candele in modo crucis preparate et accendantur, &c. (p. 30): Super quamlibet crucem thuris, says the Roman Pontifical, ponat (pontifex) unam crucem factam de subtili candela ad mensuram crucis de granis incensi factæ; et cujuslibet crucis capita accenduntur, ut cum ipsis thus comburatur et cremetur (*De Ecc. Dedic.*). To my thinking, the cross formed of two such pieces of wax-candle bent one over the other, found on a (247) paten with a chalice, not many years ago, within a grave at Hereford Cathedral, had been one of such crosses burned at the consecration of an altar, which

very likely was hallowed by him upon whose body the cross rested, for the fragments of richly embroidered vestments that had once clothed him show he must have been a bishop. This taper is figured in the *Archæological Journal*, iii. 138.

When an altar had not been so hallowed, or happened—no unusual occurrence in little domestic oratories—to be made not of stone, but timber, which might not be anointed, a small thin stone, consecrated and bound in a wooden frame, was set upon the altar, and Mass was thus duly said. This we learn from John de Burg, who writes: Altare super quod celebrandum est, non debet esse terreum vel ligneum; sed lapideum . . . quod intellige de superiore tabula quæ dicitur mensa altaris, quæ omnino debet esse lapidea, quia altaria quæ non lapidea chrismatis unctione non consecrantur. Non ergo debet missa celebrari nisi in altari consecrato, vel ad minus nisi habeatur parva tabula lapidea consecrata: quæ consecrari non debet nisi habeat capsulam ligneam vel alterius materie cui compaginetur.—*Pupilla Oculi*, vii. fol. xxiii^{v}. Its author, John de Burg, was an Englishman, and we see he lays great stress upon this portable stone's being held in a case of wood; hence in their visitations the archdeacons had to look particularly to this: and we find that William, Dean of Salisbury (whose manuscript report for his archidiaconal journey during the year 1220 is still existing in the archives of that cathedral), noted down as one of the defects to be amended in Swallowcliffe Church, Berks: Super-altare non est bene fixum in capsula quia putrida—which, unless the stone had been set in wood, could not have happened [*Reg. Osm.* (R.S. i. 311)]. For such frames, wood was sought, not only of the strongest and most lasting kind, such as oak, but of the best and rarest to be found; (248) hence we meet with notices of ebony itself used for that purpose, and the "ij tables

de yban pro super-altars" put down, in the exchequer kalendars of 12 Edward III., worth xx shillings, were nothing more than cases or frames for holding these altar-stones. How conveniently one of these little consecrated slabs could be carried about, we see from the account which the monk of St. Alban's gives of the irregular proceedings of certain Franciscan friars, of whom it is related that: Fabricato ex ligno altari, superpositoque altariolo lapideo benedicto secum allato, Missas clandestinas demissa voce celebrarunt.—Matt. Paris, *Hist. Anglorum*, Paris, 1644, p. 286 [But R.S. edit. omits this]. It seems that occasionally these portable stones had been shaped, by those who were employed in cutting them, too small in size, for among the decrees of the Council of Durham, held at the beginning of the thirteenth century, there is one which enacts that super-altars should not be too narrow: Superaltaria quoque nimis stricta non habeant, super quæ periculose celebratur, sed competenter ampla.—Wilkins, *Concil.* i. 580.

The custom was for the bishops to consecrate a good number of these altar-stones at the same time, so that they might have them at hand ready for distribution through the diocese, or to bestow upon such of their flock among the laity whose wealth allowed them to keep a private chaplain, or whose old age, ill-health, the length and badness of the road to the parish church, warranted them to ask, and the prelate to grant, the leave of having Mass said at home within their private chapel. A like indulgence was sometimes too accorded in favour of guilds, the brethren of which, though individually poor, might thus have, through the services of the brotherhood's priest, the same religious comfort in sickness as the knight or earl. Such a grace was sometimes furthermore enhanced by the additional privilege of being able to carry about and having (249) Mass celebrated

upon the altar-stone, in any decent and becoming place.

Though these thin light altar-stones be very often confounded with and noticed, even by the highest authorities, under the name of super-altar, nevertheless a broad distinction lies between them and what, correctly speaking, should be called

A Super-Altar,

for this was always of some precious costly marble, and besides its frame of wood, was encased in gold or silver, and rested upon four feet. Like the common movable altar-stone, the super-altar was easy of carriage, and might be, and often was, laid upon an unconsecrated altar built of stone, or on a wooden table, for the saying of Mass. But besides this, it was usual in great churches to place it upon the high-altar that had been anointed and consecrated already, and the reason for putting it there originated in the wish to show, by so doing, a deep reverence towards the holy sacrifice, to render honour to the festival then being kept, and to proclaim the dignity of the bishop or the prelate who was there celebrating. In his fresco, on a wall in one of the rooms in the Vatican, of Charlemagne's coronation by Pope Leo III., Raffaelle has figured one of these super-altars standing up conspicuously from beneath the cloth overspreading the papal altar; as may be seen in the *Vaticano Descritto*, ed. Pistolesi, t. vii. tav. xxiv. Among the many rich gifts which that emperor brought with him to Rome to bestow upon its churches, were such super-altars bound in silver, and resting, like the one figured hereafter, upon feet; for the *Liber Pontificalis* tells us: Post celebrationem missarum obtulit . . . imperator mensa argentea cum pedibus suis . . . et diversa vasa ex auro purissimo in ministerio ipsius mensæ . . . Sed et corona

aurea cum (250) gemmis maiores quæ pendet super-altare . . . et in basilica beati Pauli apostoli mensa argentea sub minore cum pedibus suis.—*Lib. Pontif.*, ii. 7. Not many years after, some Anglo-Saxons (A.D. 858) made their offering to Pope St. Gregory's chapel of some such a super-altar: Quidam de Anglorum gente Romam venerunt qui in oratorio beati Gregorii Papæ . . . unam tabulam argenteam posuerunt, &c.—*Ib.*, ii. 161.

The super-altar in the earlier times of the Anglo-Saxon Church

was a slight piece of oak wood about six inches square, having cut upon it signs of the cross and the name of the saint in whose honour it was blessed. This board was then encased in thin plates of silver and marked on the upper side with crosses, around the middle one of which ran another inscription: the under side showed the figure of the saint whose name it bore. Such was the old Anglo-Saxon super-altar found at Durham Cathedral in a bishop's grave, opened in the year 1828, and a minute description at p. 199, and an engraving of it, are given by Mr. Raine in his work entitled *Saint Cuthbert*. In his account of the translation of St. Acca's relics, about the middle of the eleventh century, Simeon of Durham tells us: Inventa est etiam super pectus ejus tabula lignea in modum altaris facta ex duobus lignis clavis argenteis conjuncta, sculptaque est in illa scriptura hæc: *Alme Trinitati, agiæ sopiæ, Sanctæ Mariæ.* Utrum vero reliquiæ in ea positæ fuerint, vel qua de causa cum eo in terra posita sit, ignoratur.—Simeon Dunelm., *Hist. de Gestis Reg. Anglorum*, p. 101, ed. Twysden. [R.S. lxxv. ii. 2, 23.] This super-altar had very likely lost by decay the foil of silver in which it had been coated. In the list of Leofric's gifts to Exeter Cathedral, we find, "1 geboned altare" (Kemble, *Codex Diplom.*, iv. 275), which, in all probability, was an ivory super-altar.

(251) If a conjecture may be hazarded, these small silver-covered wooden tablets served not only the purpose of altars which might be easily carried about by bishops and priests when they travelled, but, as we just now said, out of a deep reverence towards the blessed Eucharist, were even set upon consecrated stone altars to be the immediate seat or throne of the holy Sacrifice, and through the same feeling of respect, were put beneath the sacrament which it was then the custom to place, under the species of bread, upon the breast of the dead ecclesiastic, and bury it along with him. We gather the earliest information concerning these tablets or portable altars, from a passage in St. Beda, who tells us of two Anglo-Saxon missionary priests in Fresia, both named Hewald, that: Quotidie sacrificium Deo victimæ salutaris offerebant, habentes secum vascula sacra et tabulam altaris vice dedicatam. —*Hist. Eccles.*, v. 10.

These silver-bound super-altars would seem to have been common among the Anglo-Saxons: in the returns made by Ely of its church ornaments, to the extortioners whom the Norman William sent round to the monasteries of England, occur, iii altaria cum argento.—*Monasticon Anglic.*, i. 477, num. ix.

Among the other precious things found in the royal treasury of England by the same Norman William, there was one of these super-altars, that had many years belonged to our Anglo-Saxon princes, and must have been very costly, so much so, that William bequeathed it to Battle Abbey, along with his own royal mantle: Pallium quoque suum regale mirifice auro et gemmis pretiosissimis insignitum . . . cum feretro in modum altaris formato quo multæ erant reliquiæ, super quod in expeditione missa celebrari consueverat . . . conferri præcepit (*Hist. Fundationis Monast. de Bello*, p. 37, London, 1846), and most likely of the same kind were those four gold and silver altars with relics in (252) them

which the same William stole from Waltham Abbey and carried over to Normandy: Transtulit rex (Willielmus) de Waltham in Normanniam . . . quatuor altaria cum reliquiis, quorum unum aureum, cetera argentea deaurata.—*Vita et Mir. Haroldi,* Harleian MS. 3776.

That super-altars in marble were in common use among the Anglo-Saxons, there is no room to doubt: tradition has handed down some of them to a very late period. While travelling about Germany, Martene was shown in the abbey of Abdinghoff, at Paderbourne, three super-altars of porphyry set in silver, one of which (if we are to believe the Latin verses inscribed around it) was consecrated by St. Gregory the Great himself, and given by that pontiff to St. Austin, when he sent him to convert England.

Præ cunctis aris hæc Gregoriana vocaris;
A quo sacraris, gens petit Angla; daris;
Post huc portaris; his ossibus associaris,
Cum quibus esse faris vis meritique paris.
Cœlitus ignaris nota fis; per signa probaris.
Petra salutaris debilitate varis.

—*Voyage Littéraire de Deux Bénédictins, Partie* 2de, p. 242. Another super-altar of jasper, circular in shape, and mounted in silver, upon which St. Austin was said to have celebrated, was once in the possession of our great abbey of St. Alban's. Domina Petronilla de Benstede dedit sancto Albano unum superaltare rotundum de lapide jaspidis, subtus et in circuitu argento inclusum, super quod, ut fertur, sanctus Augustinus Anglorum apostolus celebravit (*Monasticon Anglic.,* ii. 221). In the cathedral at Treves is kept the portable altar of our Anglo-Saxon countryman St. Willebrord, or more likely St. Willibald, Bishop of Eichstadt, and is described rather indistinctly as "a small oaken chest covered with a copper case, adorned with figures in silver and ivory of Byzantine work, and (253) inscribed with a record of its dedication, and list of the relics

originally deposited in it" (*Archæological Journal*, iii. 365). Up to the reign of Henry VIII. the monks of Jarrow kept the super-altar once used by our sainted venerable Beda, as we learn from Leland: Monaci Gyrwi monstrant Bedæ oratorium et arulam in cujus medio pro gemma ostentant fragmentulum serpentini aut viridis marmoris.—*Collectanea*, iv, 42.

We know that at a later period the super-altar, when correctly made, was never without having in it a narrow oblong square of marble or of some rare and curious mineral. This small piece of stone was let into a solid frame of oak; between the wood and marble were enclosed some relics, and the whole was mounted in gold or silver, in such a way that it stood upon four very low feet of the same precious metal, and the polished surface of the stone could alone be seen on the upper side, surrounded by a broad border of gold or silver, either curiously wrought by the hand of the graver, or ornamented with nielli, enamels, or precious stones. That

Super-altars, and of this rich kind, continued to be employed in England until the change of religion,

is certain from the various memorials we have of them. Amid a vast number of other splendid ornaments in the treasury of York Cathedral, when Henry VIII robbed it, were, Unum super-altare pretiosum de jaspide, ornatum in circumferentiis cum argento et auro ac lapidibus pretiosis operis subtilis.

Item duo super-altaria de rubeo marmore, ornato cum argento, quorum unum stat super quatuor pedes argenti et alterum sine pedibus, &c.—*Monasticon Anglic.*, viii. 1205.

Item, delyvered more unto his majestie . . . a super-altare (254) garnished with silver, and gilte and parte golde, called the greate saphire of Glasconberye (*ibid.*,

i. 65). Of this celebrated stone, always looked upon as a relic, John the monk of that house thus writes: Preciosum saphirum a Sancto David Menevensi archiepiscopo Glastoniæ collatum . . . auro et argento lapidibusque preciosis magnifice decoravit Henricus abbas, A.D. 1126 (*Johannes Glaston.*, p. 168); and an earlier writer still, William of Malmesbury, has left us a minute account of its history, *De Antiq. Glaston. Ecclesiæ*, in Gale, iii. 305. At a visitation made of St. Paul's, London, A.D. 1295, there were found a "super-altare de jaspide ornatum capsa argentea deaurata et dedicata in honore beatæ Mariæ et omnium Virginum,"—and "unum super-altare de jaspide incluso platis argenteis et deauratis, in quo continentur reliquiæ Sanctorum Andreæ et Philippi Apostolorum, Dionysii et Blasii martyrum; et de ligno crucis S. Andreæ" (Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, pp. 315, 338). In a register of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, drawn up A.D. 1385, mention is made of: Sex super-altaria; viz., unum de jaspide lapide, argento ligato et deaurato, et unum de alabastro; et alia quatuor de marmore (*Monasticon Anglic.*, viii. 1365). In the "Index reliquiarum ecclesiæ Dunelmensis," written A.D. 1372, which Dr. Smith has published at the end of his splendid edition of Beda, we find: Duo super-altaria de jasper, et duo de gete nigro ornata argento et auro; . . . quæ altaria fuerunt consecrata in honore Sancti Blasii martyris et Sancti Johannis episcopi in Beverelaco.—*Beda*, ed. Smith, p. 744.

From these instances, it is impossible to overlook the fact that the jasper-stone was more especially sought for, and not without a meaning. In the language of Christian symbolism, jasper indicates faith. By the writer of his life (*AA. SS. Augusti*, i. 269), St. Waltheof, (255) abbot of Mailross (A.D. 1160), is said to have had, amongst his other perfections, the jewel of faith—jaspis fidei; and Marbodus,

about the year 1080, in his "Prosa de duodecim lapidibus pretiosis in fundamento cœlestis civitatis positis. Apocal. xxi. 19," says:

> Jaspis colore viridi
> Præfert virorem fidei,
> Quæ in perfectis omnibus
> Numquam marcessit penitus;
> Cujus forti præsidio
> Resistitur diabolo.

Opuscula, ad calcem Oper. V. Hildeberti, ed. Beaugendre, p. 1679 [*P.L.* clxxi. 1771]. For want of this symbolical jasper, at least some stone of a blood-colour, such as porphyry, or any red marble, was chosen by preference, as often as it could be had, for super-altars. When neither might be gotten, any other coloured stone was, no doubt, put into them. Jet, too, very likely for the beautiful and sparkling polish which it takes, or on account of its rareness and therefore higher value in those times, was not unfrequently employed for such a use here in England. At the coming over of the Normans we know that among the productions of this land which they looked upon with so much fondness, one was our jet. A writer of that period, Gotselin, the monk of Canterbury, thus notices it: Hæc (Anglia) etiam gagatem prodige gignit lapidem eo pretiosiorem quo aliis sæculis rariorem; hic est gemmea nigredine fulgidus. Invenitur quoque purpureus, cereus, albidus, viridis. Ardet igni admotus, ubi confricatus incaluit, &c. (*Vita S. Augustini Ep. Cantuar.*) [*P.L.* lxxx. 52]. That jet was a favourite material in England for super-altars, appears, not only from the list of Durham relics above quoted, but from a variety of other sources, especially old wills. Walter Berghe (256) bequeathed to the Gild of St. George, York, "unum super altare de blackegete" (*Test. Eborac.*, p. 334): and Katherine, Lady Hastings (A.D. 1503), among other things belonging to her domestic chapel left to her

sons, gave "two masse-books, two super-altars, one of white to Richard, and one of jett to William." (Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, ii. 454.) But in those instances when the stone itself was looked upon as a relic, it was, without regard to its kind, always preferred; thus we find that at Peterborough there were: Duo altaria de lapidibus super quos sanctus martyr (Thomas Cantuariensis) occubuit: et unum altare de sepulchro sanctæ Mariæ, argento ornatum et dedicatum.—Robt. Swapham, *Coen. Burg. Hist.*, in Sparke, ii. 101.

That Salisbury Cathedral once owned a magnificent super-altar, set in gold, is evident from the particular notice which Abraham, the treasurer of that church, in taking an inventory of its ornaments (A.D. 1222), makes of the iron-girt ark or chest, in which it used to be kept: Item archa una longa similiter ferrea in qua antiquitus super-altare aureum reponebatur.—Wordsworth, *Salisbury Ceremonies*, 177.

Of all the precious articles of church furniture, super-altars are among the very rarest to be now met with anywhere. There may be, though I am not aware that there is another in this country, but the one which I have in my own possession. Count Cicognara, in whose collection it once held a high place, set such store by it, as to have it engraved, in its full size, for his *Memorie della Calcografia*, wherein he lets us know that it had been in the possession of Cardinal Bessarion, who bequeathed it to the abbey of Avellana, in Gubbio; and then gives us its description thus: Un altarino vescovile d'argento portatile, in centro al quale è posta la pietra sacra di diaspro (257) orientale (*Ib.*, p. 72). The reader is here presented with two sketches of it.*

* By the kindness of Mr. H. Parker, Oxford, who had these two drawings made from this super-altar, when I took it, for exhibition, to the Winchester Meeting of the Archæological Institute, A.D. 1845, I have been favoured with stereotypes of the woodcuts, and from them the impressions on next page were printed.

(258) Its stone, measuring 9 inches long, by 4½ inches broad, is of a marble mottled dull purple and green, which antiquaries in Italy call oriental jasper, and is

let into a solid piece of oak: both are cased in silver, having three out of the four original very low silver feet attached to the under sheathing, which is one whole plate of the same metal, rather thick. On each of the four upright sides are silver-gilt borders, with

scroll-work standing out—evidently done by a stamping or pressing process, like milling. On the upper surface there is a border 1½ inch wide, of silver gilt, so placed about the marble as to hide the wooden bed within which it lies. This border is most elaborately ornamented with scrolls, some cut with a graving-tool, or "pounced"; others not only so engraved, but wrought as well with *nielli* or designs cut into silver and filled in with a black metallic preparation. At the four corners are figured the elements, symbolised by youthful virgins, each wearing a diadem: Fire holds two flaming torches; Water, with her body half out of a flowing stream, is pouring that fluid from one vase into another; Earth carries baskets of fruit and flowers; and Air has a cloud floating within her right hand, on her left is perched an eagle. In the middle of the furthermost border stands a nimbed lamb, upholding with its right leg a flag, the staff of which bears, at top, a cross of two transoms—and a chalice, on the ground before it, catches the blood which gushes from its breast. To the right of the lamb is seen a nimbed angel, holding a long sceptre; on the left, another angel, nimbed, supporting in his muffled hand a mund or ball, surmounted (259) by a double transomed cross. In the centre of the nearer border, a dove, nimbed, stands upon an altar. All these figures, drawn with the purest outlines, are done in *niello*, and from its several characteristics, I take this super-altar to be a work of the end of the twelfth century; and Cicognara, no incompetent judge, thus speaks of it: Singolare è in questi nielli la somma varietà della punteggiatura sui fondi dorati, non che il modo di rilevar gli ornamenti ora in lume ora in ombra.— *Calcografia*, p. 73.

Its beautiful symbolism is easily read. The lamb means Christ, our head pastor, who is always giving himself to his people, in daily sacrifice affording us

his flesh and blood; the dove signifies the Holy Ghost—the bird, by resting on its fluid eggs, turns them into hard, living flesh and blood—the Divine Spirit coming down from heaven upon those creatures (bread and wine) when the words of consecration are spoken over them at the altar by the sacrificing priest, changes them, by the almighty strength, into the very living and life-giving body and blood of Christ, the Lamb of God; the sceptre, and mund or globe of the world, are emblems of Christ's supreme power and divine majesty; the kind of stone itself (jasper) is full of strong meaning—it is to call to mind that part of St. John's vision in which he saw the throne of God: "And behold, there was a throne set in heaven, and upon the throne one sitting; and he that sat, was to the sight like the jasper and the sardine stone" (*Apocalypse*, iv. 2, 3). The figures of Air and Earth, Fire and Water, placed at the corners of this jasper altar-stone, "the throne of God," and about the Lamb shedding his blood, explain themselves by another passage from the same mystic book of the beloved disciple: "The Lamb that was slain is worthy to receive power, and divinity, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and benediction. And every creature which is (260) in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them—I heard all saying: To him that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb, benediction, and honour, and glory, and power, for ever and ever."—*Apocal.* v. 12, 13.

Moreover, in St. Beda's writings, there is a passage which unlocks for us another interpretation of these emblems of fire, water, air, and earth, around this super-altar. "Aiuntque," observes our sainted countryman, "Hebræi, quia ideo pontifex omnium figuram elementorum in suo habitu gestaverit, quia non solum pro Israel, sed pro omni mundo immolans rogare

debuerit. Quibus nos non incongrue forte addere valemus quod in unoquoque hominum figura omnium elementorum continetur, ignis in calore, aeris in halitu, aquarum in humore, terræ in ipsa soliditate membrorum. Unde et a physiologis Græce homo microcosmos id est minor mundus vocatur.—Beda, *De Tabernaculo*, iii. 10 [*P.L.* xci. 485]. If one of the garments of the Jewish high priest bore on it the signs of the four elements, because at sacrificing he was to pray, not only for Israel, but for the whole world, how much more fitting is it that the types of those same elements, signifying as they do man himself, should be figured upon the altar whereon are to rest the very flesh and blood of our great High Priest, Christ our Lord, who died for the redemption of all mankind. Thus do we read the belief of our forerunners in the faith which they have written, in unmistakable characters, upon these sacred instruments of religious worship they have left behind them; from which we find that, like ourselves, they taught and held that at the holy sacrifice of the Mass the altar becomes the throne of God, and bread and wine, though they keep their outward looks, lose their inward nature, and are turned into the flesh and (261) blood of the Lamb of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, who sacrificed himself for all the world.

The length of this super-altar, including its stone and silver border, is just over one foot; its width, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches; its feet are very low, lifting it up only half an inch, so that, altogether, it stands no more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. By considering the side towards which all the figures within its borders are made to look, it is evident the custom was, where this super-altar was wrought, to lay it with its length along the length of the altar. By its construction it preserves the remembrance of a liturgical practice, which, up to the end of the fifteenth century, was

followed especially by the Roman use, of placing the chalice, not as now, behind, but on the right hand of the host (that is, on the left of the celebrant) to catch, as it were, the blood flowing from the wound inflicted by the soldier's spear in the right side of our Redeemer hanging on the cross; for it is a tradition, and our own St. Beda upholds it, as he tells us: Unus militum lancea latus eius (Christi) dextrum aperuit (*In Libros Regum Quæst.* xxx.) [*P.L.* xci. 722], that it was the right side of our Lord into which the spear was thrust. Ivo of Chartres (A.D. 1097), in his *Micrologus*, thus notices this usage, while speaking de oblatione in altari componenda, and says: Ita autem juxta Romanum ordinem in altari componenda sunt, ut oblata in corporali posita, calix ad dextrum latus oblatæ ponatur, quasi sanguinem Domini suscepturus, quem de latere Dominico profluxisse credimus. (Cap. x. Hittorp, p. 737.) Though a celebrated countryman of ours, Alexander of Hales, mentions this rite,—calix autem ponitur ad dextrum latus oblatæ (*De Sac. Euch. Quæst.* x),—it seems not to have been observed in England, at least, in the Salisbury use, the rubric of which is, on this (262) point, like the one enjoined by the Roman Missal, which now directs the chalice to be put behind the host. Most likely, then, this super-altar is of Italian workmanship—a supposition strengthened by the fact, that it was brought to this country from Venice. The Greeks and Orientals do not use such altar-stones. Whether or no it be Italian, there is one peculiarity in its construction worth notice. Were it not that some small strips of the silver sheathing are gone from about the edges, it had never been observed that there is wood within beneath the stone. In what looks to be such a trifling circumstance, we find a ready illustration of the reasoning put forth by an Archbishop of Canterbury (St. Anselm), with regard to this very kind of

sacred appurtenance. According to that holy man, the altar is like unto faith, which, to be true, must have its ground (Christ) whereon to be built; so the altar, to be correct, should never be made without having something else as its foundation, and thus always rest upon another material as its ground. "Altare," says St. Anselm, "vicem fidei Christianæ tenet, ut sicut non nisi in altari sacrificium nostrum offerimus; ita non nisi recta fide sacrificia bonorum operum offeramus, si et Deo placere volumus. Sicut igitur fides mota a suo fundamento (quod est Christus) et a sua stabilitate, jam non est fides; ita altare motum a suo fundamento, jam non est altare. Propter hanc orationem cavendum existimo, ne altare gestatorium consecretur sine fundamento, quod multi custodiunt. et fere ubique custoditur: quamvis in Nortmannia, cum ibi eram, non servaretis sed nudi lapides nusquam affixi consecrarentur" (St. Anselm, *Epist.*, III. clix. ed. Gerberon, p. 423) [*P.L.* clix. 195]. That the expressive symbolism suggested here by St. Anselm, even respecting super-altars, was adopted very widely throughout the Church, is evident, not only by the example under notice, but from various incidents scattered among the (263) ecclesiastical records of this country. From the days of St. Anselm (A.D. 1093), perhaps even earlier, it is most likely that churchmen, in constructing a super-altar, looked upon it as the token of a Christian's faith, and therefore never allowed its slab of stone to be by itself, but always caused it to rest upon a groundwork of wood, silver, or gold, or any other substance besides its own material. By doing thus, they wished us to understand that each one's faith, to be true, saving, profitable to him, must not stand alone—leaning merely on self, upheld only by the will, trusting solely to human reason, and be nothing else than human faith—but must trust undoubtingly to Christ, rely on

Christ, have Christ for its ground, its foundation—and thus be divine faith.

Besides hanging in front and on the sides of their altars such costly and beautiful frontals, the custom was among the Anglo-Saxons to have, during the holy Sacrifice,

The Altar-Stone Itself Overspread with a Purple Pall

made almost always out of rich silk and elaborately embroidered.[60] In this, however, they only

[60] Adhuc vivens gratia Domini Acca episcopus magnalia ornamenta hujus multiplicis domus (Dei in Hagustaldense) de auro et argento lapidibusque pretiosis, et quomodo altaria purpura et serico induta decoravit (Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, in *AA. SS. O. B.* ed. Mabillon, v. 646). Altare quoque cum basibus suis Domino dedicantes, purpuraque aurotexta induentes . . . (*Ibid.*, vi. 563). Among the gifts of Bishop Leofric to Exeter Cathedral were "v paellene weofod sceatas"—five purple altar-palls.—Thorpe, *Codex Dip.*, iv. 275.

In St. Æthelwold's Benedictional there is figured an altar, covered over with a purple pall having a broad hem of gold; and on the pall are seen a golden chalice and paten.—*Archæologia*, xxiv. 116, and our woodcut, p. 152.

There can be no doubt that the Anglo-Saxons, though they sought out the finest kind of linen for their altar-cloths, often dyed them of a purple tint. Ælfgiva, Edmund's queen, who afterwards wedded King Cnut, gave to Ely minster a great many sacred ornaments, and: Fecit etiam indumenta altaris, magnam pallam viridis coloris insignem cum laminis aureis, ut in facie altaris per diem solempnem celsius appareret. Desuper bissus sanguineo fulgore in longitudinem altaris ad cornua ejus attingens usque ad terram cum aurifriso, altitudinem habens, spectaculum decoris magni precii administrat (Thomas Elien., *Hist. Elien.* in *Anglia Sacra*, i. 607). The "bissus" here spoken of was the finest sort of linen then made, and was, in those days, what cambric is in ours. Such purple coverings for the altar were also

(264) followed the example shown them by the Britons[61] in the western parts of the island, as well as by the (265) neighbouring Church of Gaul.[62] Such a liturgical practice of our British

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used at Rome; for we find the Greek emperor, Michael, sending to Pope Benedict III. (855–858), among other gifts for St. Peter's church: Vestem de purpura imperiale munda I super altare majore, ex omni parte cum storia, cancellos, et rosas de chrisoclavo magne pulchritudinis deornatam.—*Liber Pontificalis, in vita Benedicti III.*, ii. 148.

[61] Sub sancti abbatis amphibalo, latera regiorum tenerrima puerorum . . . inter ipsa ut dixi, sacrosancta altaria nefando ense hastaque pro dentibus laceravit (*i.e.* Damnoniæ tyrannicus catulus Constantinus, see § i.), ita ut sacrificii cœlestis sedem purpurea ac si coagulati cruoris pallia attingerent.—Gildas, *Epistola*, § 2 [*P.L.* lxix. 349].

[62] Writing towards the end of the sixth century, St. Gregory of Tours says the abbess of the monastery of St. Radegund had been accused of cutting up one of these purple silk palls, and stripping off its wreath of gold leaves, to deck out her niece on her wedding-day: quod de palla holoserica, vestimenta nepti suæ temerarie fecerit: foliola aurea quæ fuerant in gyro pallæ, inconsulte sustulerit et ad collum neptis suæ facinorose suspenderit. In answer to this, the abbess thus cleared herself: De palla quod reputarent, protulit monacham nobilem quæ ei mafortem holosericum, quem de parentibus detulit, muneris causa concesserit, et inde partem abscidisset, unde quod vellet, et faceret: de reliquo vero quantum opportunum fuit, ad ornatum altaris pallam condigne condiderit: et de illa inscissura quæ pallæ superfuit, purpuram nepti suæ in tunica posuerit.—*Historia*, x. 16, pp. 506, 507, ed. Ruinart [*P.L.* lxxi. 547].

A liturgical writer, who must have lived a little before St. Gregory of Tours's time, expressly mentions these purple palls as distinguished from the corporal: Palla vero linostima in illius indumenti tenet figuram, quia in gyro contexta, a militibus non fuit divisa, tonica scilicet Christi. Corporalis vero palla ideo pura linia est super quam oblatio ponitur, quia corpus Domini puris linteaminibus cum aromatibus fuit obvolutum in tumulo. Coopertum vero sacramentorum ideo exornatur, quia omnia ornamenta præcellit resurrectio Christi, vel camara cæli quæ nunc Dominum teget ab oculis nostris. Siricum autem ornatur, aut auro, vel gemmis, quia Dominus Moysæ in tabernaculo fieri vela-

and Anglo-Saxon forerunners (266) in the true faith, was beautiful: besides being the kingly colour, purple betokens blood, and therefore is well befitting the altar, the place of sacrifice, the throne of Christ.

Over the purple pall were spread out three or more linen cloths,[63] of which the uppermost was especially called the "corporal,"[64] not small like ours, but as long and twice as wide as the altar itself, so that it could easily be drawn over the (267) chalice and host, and entirely veil them. From what they had been taught and steadfastly believed, there arose feelings warm upon their minds, that in the sacrifice of the Mass, this corporal, as its very name gave them to understand, as truly enwrapped the very body of Christ lying upon the altar, as did the winding-sheet with which Joseph of Arimathea shrouded that same body after it was taken down from the cross. To

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mina jussit ex auro, iacinto et purpura, coccoque bis tincto et bysso retorta: quia omnia illa mysteria in Christi præcesserunt stigmata.—*Expositio Brevis Liturgiæ Antiquæ*, in Martene, *Thes. Anecd.*, v. 95. This learned Benedictine gives it as his opinion, that this "Exposition" was written somewhere about the middle of the sixth century: Medio sæculo sexto opus sequens scriptum fuisse existimamus.—*Ibid.*, p. 90, in Præf.

[63] Three linen cloths, at least, are noticed here, presuming the fourth to be the purple pall: Si super altare stillaverit calix, sorbeat minister stillam, tresque dies pœniteat. Si super lintheum pervenit ad aliud, vii dies pœniteat; si usque ad tercium pervenit, ix dies pœniteat; si usque ad iiii., xi. Lintheamina vero, quæ tetigerit stilla, tribus vicibus lavantur.—Theodore, *Lib. Pœn.* xxxix, § 8, Thorpe, ii. 47.

[64] See note 33, p. 32 of this volume.

them, the sepulchre of our Lord was a figure of the altar upon which the mysteries of his flesh and blood are now celebrated. Hence they concluded, that the rules of the Church require that these mysteries are to be consecrated, not immediately upon stuffs wrought of silk, or tinctured with any dye, but on a pure white linen cloth, in likeness of the fine linen sheet with which Christ was wrapped by Joseph of Arimathea.[65]

Upon the altar at all times stood the Christian's emblem of salvation, the cross;[66] and it was strictly (268) enjoined, that while the unbloody sacrifice of the Mass was being offered up, lights should be kept burning there.[67] Oftentimes beautiful carpets, curiously embroidered in fanciful designs of flowers and wild beasts; rugs, too, made from foreign and expensive furs, were outspread all up the steps and upon the ground before

[65] St. Beda's words upon this head are given at note 33, p. 32 of this volume; and the Anglo-Saxon form for the blessing of these corporals, with the mystic meaning which they attached to this fine linen covering of the altar-stone, may be found at note 34, p. 33.

[66] Of the beauty and richness of the Anglo-Saxon crosses we shall have occasion to speak a little later. That a cross, as well as a chalice, was needed for the service of the altar, we are told by Beda: Attulit (Paulinus, A.D. 633) quoque secum vasa pretiosa Æduini regis perplura in quibus et crucem magnam auream et calicem aureum consecratum ad ministerium altaris, quæ hactenus in ecclesia Cantiæ conservata monstrantur.—*Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 20, § 148.

[67] Ven. Beda mentions the church-lights borne in the open air, along with the cross: Diacones ecclesiæ cereas ardentes et crucem ferentes [*Hist. Abb.*, ii. 17, ed. Plummer, i. 382]. Of the *Canons enacted under Edgar*, the 42nd says: Let there be always burning lights in the church when Mass is singing (Thorpe, ii. 253).

the altar, for the priest and his ministers to tread on while they stood there offering up the holy sacrifice.[68]

(269) With a warm, deep, adoring love towards Christ abiding corporeally always among them, in the sacrament of the Eucharist enthroned upon their altars, our Anglo-Saxon forefathers showed the strength of their belief by the pious zeal which they exhibited in

The Richness of those Altars and Sacred Vessels, and the Ornaments of their Churches.

Acknowledging that whatsoever they had, was bestowed unworthily upon each one of them by God, they did not grudge to give Him back part of His own in their offerings for the adornment of His sanctuaries. With David, they loved the beauty of the Lord's house; with David, too, they brought together gold and silver to make it beautiful. Like the royal prophet, they were

[68] Dedit (*i.e.* Abbas Egelricus, A.D. 984) etiam duo magna pedalia Leonibus intexta ponenda ante magnum altare in festis principalibus, et duo breviora floribus respersa pro festis apostolorum — Ingulph, *Hist.* [Ed. W. de Gray Birch, 1883, p. 91].

Duodecimque dedit abbas (*i.e.* Brihtmerus) ursinas pelles, quarum aliquæ coram diversis altaribus usque ad nostra tempora perdurarunt (*Ibid.*, p. 104). The "two carpets, and three bear-skins—ii tæppedu, and iii berascin"—bequeathed, along with other church-ornaments, to his cathedral at Exeter, by Bishop Leofric (Kemble, *Codex Dipl.*, iv. 275), were, most likely, to spread out before the altar.

ashamed to dwell in palaces, whilst God's altar was left uncared for, and standing within four naked, dreary walls.

Beginning therefore with the holy of holies, where the unbloody sacrifice of the new law is immolated, the Anglo-Saxons strove to crowd upon the altar all the riches which the earth yields. Oftentimes was it overlaid with silver, and gold, and precious stones.[69] The chalice[70]

[69] In rehearsing the praises of Wilfrid the younger, Archbishop of York, the Anglo-Saxon poet says:

Plurima nam titulis sanctæ ornamenta venustis
Addidit ecclesiæ, rutilo qui vasa decore
Apta ministeriis argentea jure sacratis
Fecit, et argenti laminis altare crucesque
Texerat auratis.

—*De pontif. Eboracens.* [line 1221, *P.L.* ci. 837].

Præsul grandem construxerat aram,
Texit et argento, gemmis simul undique et auro,
Atque dicavit eam Sancti sub nomine Pauli.
. . . . . .
Hoc altare farum supra suspenderat altum
Qui tenet ordinibus tria grandia vasa novenis
Et sublime crucis vexillum erexit ad aram,
Et totum texit pretiosis valde metallis.
Omnia magna satis, pulchro molimine structa,
Argentique meri compensant pondera multa.
Ast altare aliud fecit, vestivit et illud
Argento puro, pretiosis atque lapillis
Martyribusque crucique simul dedicaverat ipsum.

—*Ibid.*, line 1590.

Of the gorgeous Anglo-Saxon gold and silver frontals we have already spoken at p. 183; and from Ingulph we learn the name of a prince who gave one: Tabulam magni altaris laminibus aureis contectam . . . quam Rex Withlafius aliquando dederat . . . in fontem claustri projecerunt.—Ingulph, *Hist.* [Ed. W. de Gray Birch, 1883, p. 36].

[70] Aureus iste calix gemmis splendescit opertus.—Ethelwolf, *De Abbatibus Lindisf.* xiv. [*P.L.* xcvi. 1338].

*

was frequently (270) of the purest gold and sparkling with jewels; while even the cruet[71] for holding the wine to be poured (271) into it at the sacrifice, was of the same costly metal. The cross, too, which always stood at the altar, was usually sheathed within plates of gold or silver; and even the service-books employed at the sacred mysteries were not only beautifully written, sometimes on a purple ground and in letters of the brightest gold,[72] and gorgeously illuminated by the

[71] The unknown Anglo-Saxon monk who wrote the short Latin poem descriptive of York Minster, at that period (*c.* A.D. 785), in recording the munificence of King Edwin, tells us:

> Jussit ut obrizo non parvi ponderis auro
> Ampulla major fieret, qua vina sacerdos
> Funderet in calicem sollemnia sacra celebrans.

—*De pontif. Eborac.* [line 1503, *P.L.* ci. 842].

[72] Addens Sanctus pontifex (Wilfridus) inter alia bona ad decorem domus Dei, inauditum ante sæculis nostris quoddam miraculum. Nam quatuor Evangelia, de auro purissimo in membranis depurpuratis coloratis, pro animæ suæ (remedio) scribere jussit, necnon et bibliothecam librorum eorum omnem de auro purissimo et gemmis pretiosissimis fabrefactam compaginare inclusores gemmarum præcepit.—Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, in Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. B.* vi. 562.

In the Royal Library at Stockholm, there is a tall superb copy of the four Gospels, written out in large golden letters upon purple vellum, with the Anglo-Saxon version over the Latin text. From an Anglo-Saxon inscription written on the margin, above and below, of the eleventh leaf, we learn that the noble Ælfred and his wife Werburg, for God's sake and their souls' weal, to save the book from heathenish hands, bought it from the heathen soldiers —probably the plundering Danes—and then bestowed it upon Christ Church, which, it is to be presumed, was Canterbury Cathedral. This gold-written textus has been described by Celsius, *Hist. Bib. Reg. Stockh.*, p. 179; and the Anglo-Saxon inscription is given, in part at the beginning, and the whole at the end, p. 208, of Rask's *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, translated by Thorpe.

(272) delicate and intricate hand of the limner, but bound up between thick sheets of solid gold, studded, like the crosses and chalices, with gems.

Their manuscripts, as well as that truly beautiful, though, it is to be regretted, now almost unknown or forgotten style of gold and silver binding for them, in use among our Anglo-Saxon churchmen, ask, and shall have, a short word of notice from us at this stage of our inquiries. To begin with the first: not a few of the

Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,

which after so many dangers have happily reached us, are gorgeous. Sometimes several of their leaves are tinted with violet-colour, upon which the text is written in letters of gold; at others, one meets throughout them the most elaborate illuminations done with the nicest exactness. Besides the Durham book *Nero D* IV. and other codices in the British Museum, and St. Æthelwold's Benedictional, in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, many more manuscripts might be cited. Lindisfarne and York in early, and Winchester in later times, became famous for the magnificent manuscripts written in their several minsters; and each of these establishments formed a distinct but brilliant school for works of this beautiful style of art among the Anglo-Saxons.

No reasonable doubt can exist but the old British (273) Church, before her children were worried by wars at home and invasions from abroad, had her liturgical codices for offering up the holy sacrifice and administration of the various sacraments, beautifully written and magnificently bound. Britain was soon looked upon with favour by imperial Rome, of whose princes some came to live and die here. The educated natives,

as might be expected, learned the speech of the court; and the Church of course spoke Latin in her liturgy; and we know from the inscribed stones which still remain, that the Britons employed the Roman alphabet for the writing of their own tongue. Indeed, to judge from the neatness of character discernible upon not a few of such precious monuments, we are warranted in concluding, that if mere workmen could cut letters so well upon hard granite, educated churchmen must, when they liked, have written out their manuscripts much better. The school which the British bishop, St. Iltut, opened in Glamorganshire, and that soon got to be so far-famed at the time—the celebrated monastery of Bangor, in Flintshire, with its more than two thousand monks, according to St. Beda (*Hist. Ecc. Ang.*, ii. 2),—must surely have had some able writers and illuminators of manuscripts among them. St. Ninian, too, had converted the whole of southern Pictland very many years before St. Columba had come over from Ireland to preach Christianity to the northern tribes of that same wild people; but it is more than likely the above-named British bishop took with him, not only well-executed manuscripts, but expert copyists of them, to teach the native clergy in this art. That they made advances in it, we may very fairly conjecture; and it will be hard to understand how a body of men either would or could build a stone church of such striking beauty, as to draw the gaze of Anglo-Saxon admiration on it when St. Beda wrote (*Hist. Ecc. Ang.*, iii. 4), (274) and at the same time not have been able to write out and ornament a sacramentary, or a set of the gospels. Thus we see that the British style of writing and illumination must have extended itself all along the western shores of this island, and was carried by British missioners, far to the north amid the Picts.

Among the many undying glories of this country

it is not the smallest, that one of her sons (St. Patrick) not only introduced Christianity, but even the very alphabet itself, from our shores into Ireland—for that St. Patrick was an insular Briton, I have shown in another work (*Did the Early Church in Ireland acknowledge the Pope's Supremacy?* App. i.). It is an extraordinary fact, of which we are often told by the writer of St. Patrick's life, that wherever that holy man preached he spent some of his time in privately teaching a few of his aptest hearers their letters, which he wrote out and left with them; and it is recorded of him that he did so on as many as three hundred and sixty-six occasions (*AA. SS. Martii*, ii. 518, n. 5). Not as yet possessed of an alphabet, the Irish could neither read nor write; before, therefore, he could teach them either of the latter, their apostle was obliged to provide them with the first. The alphabet which St. Patrick carried with him from this country to Ireland, was, of course, the Roman; and to this day the characters employed by the Irish, either for their own or the Latin language, are what they always have been—ill-made, crabbed, prickly Roman letters. What seems curious is, that notwithstanding the many rough, harsh, deep, throat-sounds of their Celtic mother-tongue, for which the Roman alphabet which we taught them has no representative marks or signs, the Irish should never have invented emblems to represent their native gutturals. Not so with the Anglo-Saxons, who, in taking the symbols of the Roman alphabet for the (275) writing of their words, added the letters ð, þ, ƿ, as significative of sounds peculiar to their Saxon tongue.

Such has ever been the frequent intercourse between Ireland and this country, that we cannot but suppose that the larger island, and the older Church, must have bestowed upon her younger and her smaller sister her first liturgical and scriptural codices. Thus Britain

taught Ireland a peculiar style of scription and ornament for the writing of her manuscripts. That artists in painting used to go from this country to Ireland in the earliest ages of its Christianity, is certain; and by the way in which their works are spoken of, it would seem they were illuminators. Adamnan, in his life of St. Columba, tells us of a "frater religiosus, Genereus nomine, Saxo pictor opus pictorium exercens."* Father Colgan, to whom "Genereus" looked like a slip of the transcriber's pen, thinks it should be Guereus, or Guerenus,† which brings it much nearer to an old British name. Calling all the inhabitants, without distinction, of this island, "Saxons," as the Irish do now, seems to have been a form of speech adopted very early among that people.

In looking at the most ancient manuscripts known to have been written and illuminated in these islands,‡ and (276) of which we happily have the most beautiful in our public libraries—though many of note are to be found upon the shelves of collections abroad, with the title of "Anglo-Saxon," or "Scotice scriptum," upon them—it needs no eye sharpened by a deep and lengthy prying into such lore, to discover that these codices are easily discriminated from those of all the world besides, and that their strongly-marked characteristics are to be seen much more in their ornamentation than their scription. Any one of those

* It is a matter of deep regret that we have not a good work upon the manuscripts of Great Britain and Ireland: the labour would be light, as the materials for such a book are within easy reach. The latest publication on this head is *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*, by Westwood. The plates, done in gold, silver, and colour, under the direction of Owen Jones, form the only good part of the book; for its text—a sample of very light reading on all the subjects it touches—will lead the young student wrong upon the antiquities, the literature, and, most of all, the old religion of these islands.

† *AA. SS. Junii*, ii. 229.

‡ *Ib.*, 230.

manuscripts, having a pretension to illumination, will exhibit among its leaves, one, if not several crosses, the outlines of which are much broken and varied; but the groundwork within those lines is a labyrinth of the most intricate and fanciful designs, sometimes made up, here of birds, of hound-like animals—there, of serpents, of snakes, of beasts with men's heads, of kinds of dragons *—all drawn out to a wire-like length, interlaced with one another, or twining within themselves, so as to form knots which no hand might unravel. Then again, lines, some like narrow ribbon, flat; others, like string, round—woven into beautiful platted designs,—fill up the border of the leaf and the less conspicuous parts of the design.

Now in casting our eyes upon those venerable granite crosses yet standing in Cornwall, Wales, and Cumberland, where the old Briton withstood his Saxon foes the longest, and kept his altar and his home, with a strong hand, against (277) those Northmen's pagan fury, which burned down church, and overthrew cross, and everything with the symbol of Christ upon it, wherever they conquered, before they themselves became Christians—it is impossible not to see that the very same ornaments painted within the cross upon the vellum in the book of the gospels, were sculptured, with all their interlacing knots and intricacies, by those same old Britons upon the cross of stone or granite which they set up hard by their churches, or as a roadside token of the spot wherein a true believer lay buried, asking the wayfarer to say a prayer for the soul of the dead. These ornaments are so strikingly

* In his notices of these creatures of the illuminator's imagination, Westwood (*Palæographia Sacra*) often calls them "lacertine"—why, I know not; for among them all there is not one to be found, in any of our old British manuscripts, bearing the furthest likeness to an eft, newt, or lizard. The term is as new as it is unmeaning and unneeded.

alike, that the same people must have imagined and designed both crosses—the cross illuminated on the parchment of the manuscript and the cross chiselled upon the stone. In our oldest British codices, therefore, such as the Book of the Gospels at Lichfield Cathedral (drawings of all the illuminations in which manuscript are now before me)—the so-called Book of Kells in Trinity College Library, Dublin—the Rushworth Book belonging to the Bodleian—the Book of the Gospels * given by King Æthelstan to Christchurch, Canterbury, and now in (278) the library of Lambeth Palace—the Bishop of St. David's Ricemarchus's Psalter, at present in Trinity College Library, Dublin—in these codices do we behold specimens of that singular style of art invented and spread all around them, by the old British churchmen. Although some beautiful samples of our British manuscripts were taken over to Ireland at various times, the Irish never made any progress in the art of illuminating; and those manuscripts which were most likely done, not only in Ireland, but by Irish hands, such as the Leabhar Dhimma (the Evangelists of which are figured in Sir W. Betham's *Irish Antiquarian Researches*), show, by their clumsy rudeness, how little feeling dwelt among the ancient Irish for artistic decoration, and how poor was its execution when they tried it. So it has ever been with regard to the sister-art of architecture in that country. It

* This codex was given to King Æthelstan, most likely, during that expedition when, as we learn from the Saxon Chronicle, he received the submission of all the princes of Wales, the whole of which he had conquered. At one time this manuscript had been in the hands of Mæielbrithus Macdurnan (an appellation of some old British ecclesiastic), who, like so many of his countrymen, being devout to, named himself the servant of, St. Brigide—for such, in the old British tongue, is the meaning of the first term. So high was the esteem for St. Brigide among the Britons, that there were more than thirty churches dedicated to God in her honour in Wales.

fared otherwise here. Let us, in proof of this, begin with—

Lindisfarne.

If the British priesthood encountered among their Irish brethren no rivals in the art of writing and illuminating, it was not so with respect to their nearer neighbours, the Anglo-Saxons; for one of the earliest, as well as most ornamented codices which has reached us from the Anglo-Saxon Church, is St. Cuthbert's Book of the Gospels, in the British Museum (*Nero D* IV.); and it not only equals, but far surpasses, all the manuscripts we have just enumerated as the productions of the old British school of painting—at the same time, however, that it shows itself to be an offshoot from that school, and indebted to its manner and its teaching for all its own younger beauty. In this splendid manuscript there are no less than five of those intricate and elaborately-woven crosses of which we lately spoke; and from the way one of them is formed of birds (279) (the eider-duck), with their necks gracefully linked one within the other, we may learn it was not through idle whim or wild fancy that the old British artists employed snaky, houndish, and dragon-like animals for ornaments upon their crosses. With them such things had (as the eider-duck to the eye of the loving followers of St. Cuthbert) a symbolic meaning; and though its sense be locked up from us now, if we wait and look with patience, we may some day find the key to it. The serpent is an emblem, in holy writ, of foresight: the dog, a common sign of faithfulness; and the dragon was looked upon as the badge of royalty among the Britons. The eider-duck, which swarmed on Farne Island when St. Cuthbert went to lead a lonely life there, became a great favourite with the holy man. Reginald, the monk of Durham (A.D. 1172), in his delightful *Libellus de Admirandis B.*

Cuthberti Virtutibus, cap. xxvii., tells us of these wild-fowls: "aves illæ Beati Cuthberti specialiter nominantur;" and "St. Cuthbert's birds" are they called to this day by the common people of those parts. No wonder, then, that a remarkable passage in the saint's life (easily brought to the remembrance of those who understood the symbol) should be wrought as an ornament in a sacred volume copied out especially to his honour. That this glorious *Textus* was so written and adorned, and by no other than Anglo-Saxon hands, is put beyond a moment's doubt; for at the end of St. Matthew we read, in fair Anglo-Saxon letters, that Bishop Eadfrid wrote out the whole of the book; Bishop Ethilwald did all the illuminations; Billfrid the ankret, bound it in sheets of silver overgilt and set with jewels; and Aldred, the priest, overglossed it with English. Eadfrid was eighth Bishop of Lindisfarne, and the next to come after St. Cuthbert himself in that bishopric; to Eadfrid immediately succeeded Ethilwald. Written, painted, (280) sheathed in silver and precious stones, all in honour of their illustrious patron saint, this magnificent *Textus* was for many hundreds of years borne with much liturgical ceremony by the monks of Lindisfarne upon high festivals into the ambo, where the chief deacon sang from its venerable and glowing pages the Gospel of the day; for that it was so employed, we gather from the verses, in a very old hand, at the recto of fol. 258:

✠ Le-ta (levita) me pandit
Sermonis f(i)da ministra:
Omnes alme
Meos fratres
Voce saluta.

No doubt Eadfrid and Ethilwald left many an apt scholar behind them in the art of writing out and illuminating manuscripts; nor was Billfrid's craft in

the mystery of gold and silver bindings lost, for Ethelwolf, a poetical monk of a younger monastery (built either in Lindisfarne itself, or very near it on the mainland shore, by Eadmund, an Anglo-Saxon nobleman), tells us that the monks of this smaller establishment were taught to write out books, and bind them between plates of silver:

> Quidam præcipiunt sacratos scribere libros.
> . . . . . .
> Atque hos conspicui pervelat ductilis auri
> Lamina.

—Ethelwolf, *De Abb. Lindisf.* xx. [*P.L.* xcvi. 1341]; and Ultan, a priest of Irish descent, had earned for himself much repute in the art of illuminating—an accomplishment which very likely he had learned from the monks of the older and the larger house upon Holy Island.—[*Ibid.*, pp. 1328, 1333, 1334.]

Whether Lindisfarne was rich in the number of her manuscripts, we have not now the means of finding out; not so, however, with regard to

(281) *York*,

whose wealth was so abundant in all kinds of literature, that our Alcuin, in his beautiful letter from Tours to Charlemagne, cannot help recalling those days of his youth and manhood which he had spent in his own England, beneath the still cloister built by a Wilfrid, and wandered, as it listed him, through the whole world of writers, all of whose works were brought together by the untiring care of an Ecgbert within the walls of the minster library of York. No wonder, while the Anglo-Saxon scholar mourned over the dearth of codices in France, he should sigh for those precious ones he had left behind him in England, at the same time that he thus addresses the emperor:

Sed ex parte desunt mihi servulo vestro exquisitiores eruditionis scholasticæ libelli, quos habui in patria per bonam et devotissimam magistri mei industriam, vel etiam mei ipsius qualemcunque sudorem. Ideo hæc vestræ Excellentiæ dico . . . . ut aliquot ex pueris nostris remittam, qui excipiant inde nobis necessaria quæque, et revehant in Franciam flores Britanniæ; ut non sit tantummodo in Euborica hortus conclusus, sed in Turonica emissiones Paradisi cum pomorum fructibus . . . . Mane florentibus per ætatem studiis seminavi in Britannia. Nunc vero frigescente sanguine quasi vespere in Francia seminare non cesso. (Alcuin, *Epist.* xliii, *ad Carolum Magnum*, in *Op.* i. 53 [*P.L.* c. 208]). Well might Alcuin cast back a longing eye upon the library of York; for, if we are to believe a poetical contemporary of Alcuin, it was complete:

> Illic invenies veterum vestigia patrum,
> Quidquid habet pro se Latio Romanus in orbe,
> Græcia vel quidquid transmisit clara Latinis,
> Hebraicus vel quod populus bibit imbre superno,
> Africa lucifluo vel quidquid lumine sparsit.

—*De Pontif. et Sanctis Ecc. Eborac.* inter opera Alcuini, ii. 257 [*P.L.* ci. 843].

(282) That Alcuin's wishes were speedily fulfilled, there can be no room for disbelieving; and it is to be presumed that many French youths came here to learn the art of writing out and ornamenting manuscripts; while those who brought those young men over, sought after and bought as many codices as possible to carry home. Not only the presence in France of Alcuin, but the consequences flowing from his thoughtful foresight, soon made themselves be felt among our Gallic neighbours; for shortly after the times of this illustrious countryman of ours, some of the manuscripts used in France, and especially in those provinces within the reach of Anglo-Saxon influence, such as the diocese of Rouen, were of the richest description. St.

Ansigisus (A.D. 820), among other good deeds in behalf of the abbey of Fontinel, bestowed upon it several beautiful service-books: Quatuor Evangelia in membrano purpureo ex auro scribere jussit Romana litera . . . . lectionarium etiam in membrano purpureo similiter scribere jussit, decoratum tabulis eburneis: antiphonarium similiter in membrano purpureo argenteis scriptum literis, ornatumque tabulis eburneis. —*Chron. Fontanel. ab auctore coævo,* in D'Achery, *Spicilegium,* ii. 280.

But this was not all: at the period when Alcuin awakened literature from the dull sleep into which it had long fallen throughout France, his friend and patron Charlemagne had induced its national Church to lay aside the old Gallican for the Roman liturgy. To answer the call loudly made for fresh ritual codices needed for this new want, recourse must have been had to this island, where the ritual of Rome had been always practised from the day of their conversion, among the Anglo-Saxons: this will help us to account for a curious circumstance. So closely did the French penmen keep to the original text in the Anglo-Saxon service-books, copied out or bought by the (283) scholars sent over to this country by Charlemagne, that in their transcriptions of them afterwards at home, they put down word for word, never heeding the geographical difference of the two countries; hence, in the coronation-service (borrowed every tittle from ours), the emperor of the Franks was addressed by the Archbishop of Rheims as though he were anointing a king of the Northumbrians, as he thus called, in behalf of the prince, upon Almighty God: Ut regale solium videlicet Saxonum, Merciorum, Nordan-Humbrorumque sceptra non deserat, sed ad pristinæ fidei pacisque concordiam eorum animos, Te opitulante, reformet,—according to a Rheims pontifical of the ninth century, in the library of Cologne Cathedral (Hartzheim, *Cat.*

Hist. Cod. Bib. Ecc. Colon., p. 111). This incident becomes no small proof that the youths whom Alcuin by Charlemagne's permission sent from France to England, went for their studies to the great monastery at York, where they would naturally find, in the "Liber ministerialis," or what we now call the Pontifical, the words just quoted, in a form of coronation-service drawn up for the especial use of the archbishops of that great northern see, claiming the right of crowning the princes of the Northumbrian and Mercian united thrones. The French Benedictine, Dom. Menard, under a strong love for country, wishes to see in this coronation-service a proof that some prince of the Franks was once anointed king over the Anglo-Saxons, though he candidly tells us that he never read anywhere of this event: Quæ quidem verba satis manifestant aliquem Francorum regem id temporis in Anglorum regem unctum fuisse: quod tamen est difficile scitu, cum nihil tale in historicis antiquis cum Francorum, tum Anglorum repereris, per quos huic difficultati lucem afferre quis posset (Menard, *in S. Gregorii Lib. Sac. notis et obser.*, p. 402). Had good old Menard bethought himself of the revival of letters, and the importation (284) from England into France of all kinds, but especially of liturgical codices, through the exhortations of Alcuin, the worthy father would not have been so sorely puzzled at the above-named passage in the old text of the coronation-service for the emperors of the Franks: he would have acknowledged that it was borrowed without any abridgment from the older rituals of the Anglo-Saxon Church. From York we get down to

Winchester,

which no doubt had, at all times, quick and able penmen and admired illuminators within its royal

walls; though it is chiefly looked upon as a particular school of art, in the latter part of the Anglo-Saxon period; and had it sent forth nothing but its gorgeous "Benedictional," known as that of St. Æthelwold, it would have sufficiently established the fame of its celebrated minster.

Though not strictly belonging to the Anglo-Saxon times, there is a manuscript, scarcely known, which has so near a connection with that period, and of so magnificent a character, as to claim a notice here. It is a "bibliotheca" or a copy of the Bible, of the large folio size, and now bound up into several volumes: as far as I can judge, it was done during the reign of William Rufus, and, in all likelihood, it is the last great work of the Winchester school of illuminating. After looking at the neatness of the writing, the beauty of the vellum, and, before all, the splendour, the freedom, the artist-like execution of the numerous illuminations and elaborate capital letters—some of which run down the whole length of the long folio page, and, like all the illuminations, are more than a foot long—this manuscript must be allowed to be one of the finest in this or any other country. What makes it still more interesting as a work of art is, that from being left unfinished, it shows us illuminating (285) in every stage of the process through which it had to go, from the first bold flowing outline, to the last touch of colour from the glowing pencil. But, on turning over the dazzling pages of this glorious manuscript, every now and then one shudders with a thrill of horror, for some sacrilegious wretch has cut out several of the illuminations: yet though thus in part infamously shorn of its beauty, it still has so much left as to make it worthy of a pilgrimage to Winchester, where I saw it in the cathedral library, A.D. 1845.

In bestowing such pains upon their books, the

Anglo-Saxons wished to show how deep was their love and homage for holy writ. St. Boniface thus entreats the abbess Eadburga to write out, herself, for him, in letters of gold, St. Peter's epistles, for the honour and reverence of the holy Scripture: Deprecor . . . ut mihi cum auro conscribas epistolas Domini mei Sancti Petri Apostoli, ad honorem et reverentiam sanctarum scripturarum ante oculos carnalium, in prædicando.—*Bonifacius Eadburgæ, Epist.* xix. in *Op. S. Bonif.*, ed. Giles, i. 53.

So soon, indeed, did our monks distinguish themselves for the beauty of their illuminations and handwriting, that their manuscripts were deemed worth the trouble of being carried from England to Rome, and were thought gifts well worthy of being laid by the Anglo-Saxon pilgrim as his offering of love upon the shrine of St. Peter. Concerning Ceolfrid, abbot of Wearmouth (who died in France A.D. 716, on his road to the threshold of the Apostles), it is said: "Tres Pandectes fecit describi, quorum duo per totidem sua monasteria posuit in ecclesiis, ut cunctis qui aliquod capitulum de utrolibet Testamento legere voluissent, in promptu esset invenire quod cuperent: tertium autem Romam profecturus donum beato Petro apostolorum principi offerre decrevit" (*Hist. Abb. Gyrv. Auct. Anon.* § 20, ed. Plummer, i. 395) (286). Of this manuscript we learn: Habens in capite scriptos hujusmodi versus,

> Corpus ad eximii merito venerabile Petri,
> Dedicat ecclesiæ quem caput alta fides,
> Ceolfridus, Anglorum extimis de finibus abbas,
> Devoti affectus pignora mitto mei.
> Meque meosque optans tanti inter gaudia patris
> In cœlis memorem semper habere locum.

(*Ibid.*, p. 402.) In looking on the Durham book in the British Museum, we behold no mean proof of that excellence which at an early period our Anglo-Saxon

countrymen, such as Eadfrid its penman, had reached in the art of writing; while, under warrantable feeling of patriotism, we are convinced that if the Anglo-Saxons were, at that time, equalled, they were not surpassed by any other people in that attainment. In the library belonging to the church of St. Mary in Vallicella or Chiesa Nuova, at Rome, there is, written very likely by an Anglo-Saxon hand, the copy of the Scriptures presented to Charlemagne by our Alcuin, who thus asks the prayers of its readers:

> Pro me, quisque legas versus, orare memento.
> Alcuine dicor: tu sine fine vale.

(Mabillon, *Iter. Italicum*, p. 66); and down to the thirteenth century, manuscripts in an English hand continued to be known and valued in Italy, as we find from the will of Cardinal Guala (A.D. 1227), who enumerates a "Bibliotheca de littera Anglicana," among the books which he bequeathed to the monastery of St. Andrew's, which he built at Vercelli (Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, t. iv. lib. i. c. iv. § iii. p. 65, Napoli, 1777), in the cathedral library of which city there has been lately found a rich store of Anglo-Saxon literature, a small portion of which, "The Legend of St. Andrew," was lately edited by (287) Mr. Kemble for the Ælfric Society. The "Bibliotheca," like the "Pandect," spoken of above, was nothing more than the whole of the Old and New Testament.

From this rapid notice of our old British and our Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, let us now pass on to as short an inquiry about that splendid

Style of Binding employed among the Anglo-Saxons

for their liturgical codices.

Out of the scattered notices which may be gleaned from various quarters concerning early manuscripts

belonging to England, we are able to guess at the splendid way in which the Anglo-Saxons used to bind their Church service-books; but unhappily we cannot form any opinion of the skill or of the national peculiarities shown by our countrymen in this kind of handicraft, from having a specimen under our eyes, for none is known to exist. That they did work well in gold and silver, is put beyond doubt by Alfred's jewel, still to be seen at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Indeed, Anglo-Saxon skill in every sort of nice work in gold or silver stood so high in the estimation of all Europe at the time, that certain kinds of cups and lamps, so made in this country, were sought for abroad, and became known at Rome by the distinctive name of Saxon vessels—gabathæ Saxiscæ—as we find from so many passages in the curious *Liber Pontificalis* [i. 417, ii. 3, 120, 145, Bianchini 195, 366, 527, 569]. Among the presents made by one of our Anglo-Saxon kings to St. Peter's Church at Rome, when he went on pilgrimage to the holy city, were many productions of the Anglo-Saxon goldsmith's art: Obtulit (Rex Saxonum) dona beato Petro Apostolo, corona ex auro purissimo pens. libras quatuor; baucas ex auro purissimo duas . . . spata I cum auro purissimo ligata; item imagines duas minores ex auro purissimo; (288) gabathe saxice de argento exaurate IIII, &c. (*ibid.*, ii. 148, Bianchini 575). On leaving their island home in search of a livelihood, the Anglo-Saxon goldsmiths were often drawn to Italy, in different parts of which they wrought much; and one of the great artistic wonders of Milan at this day, the golden altar-frontal at the basilican church of St. Ambrose, is the work of an Anglo-Saxon—of Walwin, a name very common during that period in this country, as appears from old deeds and charters, and may be yet met with in the midland counties of England. Ferrario has given the whole of this frontal in his *Basilica*

Ambrogiana, and in D'Agincourt (plate xxvi. n. 16, *of Sculpture*) may be seen St. Ambrose putting a crown upon the head of Walwin, round whom is written, "Walvinus magister phaber." That the meed of approbation given to such men by the Italians was not stinted, is shown by the high-sounding praises bestowed by Leo, cardinal bishop of Ostia, upon the workmanship and beauty of a shrine made by Anglo-Saxon hands, and given to the church of Monte Cassino: transmissus in hunc locum loculus ille mirificus, ubi nunc recondita est ipsa lintei sancti particula, argento, et auro gemmisque Anglico opere subtiliter, ac pulcherrime decoratus, ibi ergo christallo superposito venerabiliter satis est collocata (*Chron. S. Mon. Casin.*, ii. 33); although presented to the church about A.D. 1000, it was probably of a much earlier date. We learn, too, that an English goldsmith a few years after was busy with some work in this same Italian church, when he happened to be killed by a flash of lightning: Alia quoque vice cum Anglo quodam aurifice duos alios longe distantes uno ictu ad portam majorem cecidisse.—*Ibid.*, iii. 22.

The Irish, with regard to this department of their national antiquities, are more fortunate than ourselves, for they can still show some examples of the splendid way in (289) which their churchmen anciently took care to have their service-books adorned; and several of those curious and interesting silver bindings, as well as silver cases, or *cumhdachs*, of old Irish workmanship, are yet to be found, mostly in private hands.

A few of these coverings, though not of the old class, may be seen figured in *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, by Sir William Betham, who says, speaking of one which belongs to himself: "On discovering the date of *anno domini ccccciii*, I could scarcely credit the accuracy of my vision, especially as I had been taught to believe, dating by the Christian era had not been

used at so early a period in this country. After an accurate investigation, I feel perfectly satisfied that the date is genuine" (*ibid.*, i. 213). Every one else but Sir W. Betham will, on looking at the inscription, read A.D. MCCCCCLIIIII—A.D. 1555. Notwithstanding the very great rudeness in the execution of the figures, which might lead the unwary to take it for a work of the twelfth or thirteenth century, those who are familiar with antiquities will soon recognise, in the scrolls especially, the style of the period at which it is dated. But rough as the figures are, their costume betrays their epoch: had this covering been of the sixth age, the bishop would have worn, not the Roman round tonsure which he shows, but the Irish one, against which so much was said in France during the beginning, and among the Anglo-Saxons at the end of the seventh century; nor would he have held a pastoral staff of the form of Henry VIII.'s reign, in his hand. The lapis lazuli, which is among its ornaments, would by itself prove the covering to be of the sixteenth century, for this stone is not to be met with upon old church appliances.

Now, both while we read the description of Anglo-Saxon binding for books, and while we are looking at those (290) bindings themselves, done by old Irish artists, there is one peculiarity about most, if not all, of them, which must strike the attentive observer; and that is, that a piece of crystal, or beryl, is made to be their chief and conspicuous ornament. Indeed, in the instance of some of the Irish silver bindings, this piece of crystal, usually shaped into a convexed oval, is of so large a size as to take up the whole side of the cover, and readily suggests the propriety of calling it a "glass book." Such is the one figured in vol. vii., p. 167, of the *Archæologia;* and General Pownall says, in a paper from him describing it: "It is a very large crystal-stone set in silver, with some other stones round

it. There are many others in the kingdom; but all which I have drawings of, except this, bear the marks of Christianity, a crucifix always being in the middle. The name of them is *cloch*, *meisi*, *cith*, or the stone of *meisi*, or the judgment. *Cith* is vision, revelation. They say it is a Hebrew name; at least they are told so." (*On the Early Irish Antiquities*, ib.) The General, I should observe, is wrong in saying that this monument wants the mark of Christianity; for on the right-hand side there is a small cross, with a heart-shaped jewel in the middle. On beholding this large, silver-set, egg-shaped piece of rock-crystal, no doubt once the binding of some liturgical codex, we can fully understand the beauty of St. Adamnan's words for the book of the coronation-service, which the angel, as he appeared to S. Columba, held in his hand: In manu vitreum ordinationis regum habebat librum . . . eundem in manu vitreum habens codicem (St. Adamnan, *Vita S. Columbæ* [iii. 5, ed. Fowler, p. 133]. Truly might it be called a glass book.

But to keep to our own country. While mentioning the volumes believed to be some of the very ones sent over here by St. Gregory the Great, and then kept, with great (291) veneration, in the church of St. Austin's Abbey at Canterbury, a monk of that house, in the fifteenth century, says: Est alius liber positus super eamdem tabulam magni altaris, qui habet exterius, ymaginem Divinæ maiestatis argenteam deauratam, cum lapidibus cristallinis et berillis per circuitum positis: in quo continetur *passionarium Sanctorum*, &c. Item super eamdem tabulam ad magnum altare, ponitur liber cujus exterior apparatus habet unum magnum berillum in medio, cum pluribus aliis lapidibus cristallinis ex omni parte; in quo continetur expositio super epistolas et evangelia, &c. Et hæc sunt primitiæ librorum totius ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. — *Anonymus*, in Wanley, p. 173.

At Reculver, in Kent, old Leland's eye was caught by a venerable codex, the covering of which was ornamented with one of those pieces of crystal. "In the chirche," he says, "is a very auncient boke of the evangelyes, *in majusculis literis Ro.;* and yn the bordes therof ys a chrystal stone, thus inscribed: Claudia. Atepiccus."—*Itinerary*, vii. 127.

But when put on the outside of a book, by way of adornment, had this singular piece of rock-crystal any name given it among the Anglo-Saxons? I think so: and to me it seems they called it—

The Æstel.

In the Preface to King Alfred's translation of Pope St. Gregory's *Liber Pastoralis*, there is a passage which has hitherto been a puzzle both for antiquaries and lexicographers. That truly great prince says: 7 to ælcum biscepstole on minum rice þille ane onsendan. 7 on ælcre biþ an Æstel se biþ on fiftigum moncessa. Ond ic bibiode on Godes noman þaet nan mon þone Æstel from þaere bec ne doe (*Annales Ælfredi*, ed. Wise, p. 86). To every bishop's see in my kingdom, I will that one (of the copies of his (292) own Anglo-Saxon translation of the *Pastoral*) be sent: and upon each there is an "æstel," which is about fifty mancuses (in value), and I bid, in God's name, that nobody that "æstel" from those books shall undo. What was this "æstel" about which the king speaks with such earnestness? That it must have been something fastened on the outside of the volume is clear. Its worth was fifty mancuses. Amid the difficulties of Anglo-Saxon money, it would be hard to say what was the real value of a mancus; but, supposing it to be only six shillings of our coinage, fifteen pounds sterling of the present time must have been a large sum in the reign of Alfred.

By a few, the "æstel" is supposed to have been a metal pen, or stylus. But what could such an instru-

ment have to do with a manuscript upon vellum, and written with ink? for one of these copies (that given to Worcester) is still to be seen in the Bodleian Library. The stylus was only fit for writing upon wax. Of what service could it have been were it fastened outside the book; or if made of gold itself, how could it have been worth so much? My idea is, that the "æstel" so particularly spoken of by King Alfred, was a large stud of crystal, beryl, or some precious stone, mounted as an ornament on the silver covering of the book, in plates of which metal the royal gift made to each bishopric, in such a formal way, by the munificent and royal author, was most likely bound. Large pieces of rock-crystal were, in those times, looked upon as great rarities, much sought after, and therefore costly. Taking the word "æstel" to mean such a kind of ornament in Anglo-Saxon binding, we can readily understand how those set on the backs of Alfred's books happened to be worth so much; and why that holy man should go so far as to forbid, even in God's name, any one from purloining them.

(293) From the earliest periods then in the ecclesiastical history of these islands, such large knobs of crystal seem to have been sometimes the only, almost always the most conspicuous, ornament on the books employed in the public services of religion. Of the "vitreus ordinationis regum liber," spoken about in St. Columba's life (*ut. s.*), it would be hard to find out how it came to be so called, for any other reason than because its cover was adorned with some of those large pieces of clear rock-crystal, such as—indeed up to the present day—are to be met with on the bindings and cases for sacred books, and extend over almost the whole of the silver plates upon which they lie.

In that magnificent collection of manuscripts belonging to Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart., at Middle Hill, there is a very fine "Evangelisterium," the writing of

which is of the Anglo-Saxon period, though a later date must be given to its beautiful old binding, which consists of thick boards, one covered with crimson velvet, the other with thin plates of silver-gilt, studded with precious stones and sculptures in ivory. Among these is set a large convex piece of fine crystal, showing beneath it the vernacle or face of our divine Redeemer. Though the silver-work of this cover be not so old as the Saxon period, the crystal, to my thinking, is, and most likely was a part of an earlier binding, on the renewal of which it was retained.

With such facts before us, it is out of place to think that there was no meaning, no intention had in view while thus employing this crystal ornament, but that its continual appearance is the result of mere chance or of artist's caprice. Let us try then to find out why it became used, and what it was intended to signify.

Scarce an old British barrow or cyst happens to be opened, but some ornament or another made of crystal is (294) found, thus showing the high esteem in which that substance was held by the Britons, either as an instrument of their religious rites, or of harmless ornament, or as a public badge of honourable distinction. We have indeed strong reasons for thinking, that under their Druid teachers, the heathen Britons made use of balls of crystal in their idle superstitions and wicked practices. When, however, they became Christians, through the preaching of missioners from Rome, it is very likely that their bishops and clergy thought, as other pastors of the Catholic Church have wisely thought, that one of the lawful ways of leading a people to the truths of Christ was, instead of casting off national customs, to keep such as were innocent in themselves, and to wrest those that were indifferent, from their application to what was wrong and superstitious, by connecting them with holy and edifying things.

Under such feelings, may not the British Christian priesthood have chosen to take, at the downfall of Druidism, its mysterious and much-esteemed crystal, and adorn with it the hallowed books belonging to the sanctuary of Christ? Of itself, there was nothing in the mere crystal that was bad; the harm consisted in its application to serve and uphold paganism, and carry on its cheats and superstitions in divinations and foretelling coming events. By making it then do, as it were, honour to the pure rites of the Gospel, when, before, it had been employed as an instrument of a lying worship, a kind of atonement was offered unto God for the withdrawing from him one of his works, and a homage paid to truth: it was displaying the spoils of heathenism in the triumphs of Christianity: it was saying to the unconverted Briton that he had misapplied its use, and misunderstood its symbolism; but to the converted, that all its real mystic meaning was fully and beautifully unfolded to the members of Christ's Church, and to those only.

(295) The crystal stone is, indeed, full of symbolism: hard and imperishable, it represents the foundation of that never-ending, never-failing Church built upon a rock; —beaming with pure light, transparent and without stain, it is an emblem of that bright and spotless truth shining in the Church. Having attached to it such meanings, instead of those idle and superstitious ones which it bore before, the heathenish crystal ball might with ease and propriety have been made to speak of the glories, the triumphs, and the truth of Christianity, and have become a holy symbol in the early British Church.

If it be true that a globe of crystal was employed by the Druids in their divinations as a seeing-stone, by looking into which they foolishly pretended to foretell coming events, and to find out what was lost or stolen, we must acknowledge that its appropriation

as an ornament to the sacred books by the Christian priesthood among the newly converted Britons, was as apposite as it was judicious. It told our early British forefathers, in words which they could not but understand, that, to get back their lost title to heaven, of which they had been cheated by the wily serpent's craft—to learn, with unerring certainty, the future doom of all mankind—never-ending happiness for the good, never-ending woes for the wicked—they must look into that true seeing-stone, the teaching of Christ's Church, whose holy volumes they beheld before them, sparkling with the emblematical ball of crystal. For the purpose of conveying such a holy meaning, it could have readily been borrowed from the British Church, first by their western neighbours, the Irish, with whom they were in such daily intercourse; and later by the Anglo-Saxons, with the same symbolical object, in the decoration of the books used for the public services of religion.

(296) That the Anglo-Saxon Church did teach her children to understand the pure crystal as speaking by its clearness an emblematic meaning to them, is evident from the form of prayer which she put into the mouth of the bishop who should have to bless such crosses as happened to be studded with this stone, for then he was told to beg that in the shining of the crystal might be betokened that cleanness of life brought to us by Christ: *Consecratio Crucis . . . . Hec dicantur si crux adornetur.* Radiet hic unigeniti filii tui splendor divinitatis in auro . emicet gloria passionis eius in ligno . in cruore rutilet nostræ mortis redemptio . in splendore christalli nostræ vitæ purificatio.—*Ordo ad dedicandam Basilicam,* from the Alet Pontifical, ed. Gage in *Archæologia,* xxv. 33.

But besides these æstels or large knobs of rock-crystal, gems of price often glistened upon the golden plates within which the Anglo-Saxons loved to bind

their service-books. Such was the covering bestowed on her highly illuminated copy of the four Gospels by one of the last of our Anglo-Saxon princesses, the incomparable St. Margaret, queen of Scotland: Habuerat (S. Margarita) librum Evangeliorum, gemmis et auro perornatum, in quo quatuor Evangelistarum imagines pictura auro admixta decorabat; sed et capitalis quæque littera auro tota rutilabat (*Vita S. Margaritæ*, auct. Theodorico co-ævo, in the *AA. SS. Junii*, ii. 333). Between the illuminated leaves of this manuscript there were "panniculi de serico, qui litteras aureas, ne foliorum contactu obfuscarentur, contexerant" (*ibid.*, p. 334): Shreds of fine gauzy silk may sometimes be met with even now, between the leaves of illuminated manuscripts.

Among the precious things of which Henry VIII. robbed the cathedral of Winchester, was: "a book of the four Evangelists, written all with gold, and the outer side is of (297) plate of gold" (*Monast. Anglic.*, i. 202). This beautiful volume was most likely written as well as bound by some Anglo-Saxon hand.

The English were not behind their Anglo-Saxon forerunners in the richness and beauty of those bindings with which they adorned the codices belonging to the altar; they, too, covered their missals and texts of the Gospels with plates of gold and silver loaded with precious gems. Of this, proof may be found in the inventories of all the great churches of England; Salisbury Cathedral had (A.D. 1222) a text or book of the Gospels, bound in solid gold, ornamented with xx sapphires, vi emeralds, viii topazes, viii alemandine stones, viii garnets, and xii pearls (Wordsworth, *Salisbury Cerem.*, p. 169). In the year 1315, Canterbury Cathedral reckoned as many as seven texts sheathed in gold and precious stones: Textus magnus auro coopertus, et gemmis ornatus, cum magestate in medio, et iiij Evangelistis aureis in

quatuor angulis,&c. [Wickham Legg and St. John Hope, *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, p. 78.] Besides these golden, there were many more silver texts (*ibid.*). The lists of the silver-gilt texts belonging to St. Paul's, London (Dugdale, *St. Paul's*, p. 313); to St. Peter's, York (*Monasticon*, viii. 1505), and to Lincoln (*ibid.*, p. 1281), show how splendidly were the service-books of those churches bound.

To form an idea of the becomingness and great beauty of such a style of binding for the volumes employed at the holy sacrifice, the curious reader has only to go and look at that fine text or book of the Gospels, bound in silver parcel-gilt and jewelled, now in the British Museum, but once belonging to the late Dr. Butler of Shrewsbury. The Earl of Leicester has one or two small but exquisitely wrought silver book-covers of the end of the thirteenth century; and others very likely exist in other private libraries of this country. Abroad, they are often to be seen in (298) the treasuries of old churches; and those which once shone amid the precious things of the far-famed St. Denys, near Paris, are figured by Félibien in his history of that ancient abbey.

Let us hope that, ere long, it may be given us to behold our deacons carrying, on the high festivals of the year, the text or evangelisterium out of which the Gospel for the day is about to be sung, bound, if not in gold, at least in silver over or parcel-gilt, and glistening with precious stones and pearls, symbolical of the pearl of great price—the doctrine within it. We Catholics of the nineteenth century must not be outdone by the old Britons, the Anglo-Saxons, or the mediæval English, who have handed down to us that one, unbroken, undying, everlasting Catholic belief which they once held, and we now happily do hold.

Though the chiefest, the altar was not the only spot upon which the Anglo-Saxons loved to pile all that they could find most rich and rare in material or beautiful in its design, skilfully wrought out by the cunning hand of our native well-taught workmen. Palls, woven of the finest stuffs, and glowing with the tints of the warmest and softest purple dye, sprinkled with precious stones, and embroidered by the needles of our high-born dames with fitting subjects, drooped all about from the walls of the sanctuary,[73] or overspread the tombs and shrines of the saints.[74]

[73] Missarum celebrans sollemnia sancta diebus,
Inque Dei domibus multa ornamenta paravit.
Illas argento, gemmis vestivit et auro,
Serica suspendens peregrinis vela figuris.
—*De Pontif. Eboracen.* [line 1264, *P.L.* ci. 857].

[74] Ælfgiva or Emma, Cnut's queen, besides bestowing upon Ely several smaller palls for saints' tombs in that minster, worked and presented one of extraordinary beauty and costliness for the shrine of St. Etheldreda which stood there: Insignem quoque purpuram aurifriso undique cinctam fecit et partes auro et gemmis preciosis mirifico opere velut tabulatis adornavit; illucque obtulit: ut nulla alia in Anglorum regione talis operis et precii inveniatur. Opus quippe illius materiam præcellere videtur. Atque cæteris sanctis nostris pannum sericum unicuique, licet minoris precii, auro et gemmis intextum obtulit (*Hist. Eliensis* in *Anglia Sacra*, i. 607). Pallam eximiæ paraturæ auri et gemmarum quam Emma regina in velamentum sepulchri sacræ Virginis (Etheldredæ) obtulerat, accepit (Nigellus episcopus).—*Ibid.*, p. 627.

Although such ornaments would by themselves be proof enough, still many other evidences are not wanting to show the invariable

Use of Images in the Anglo-Saxon Church,

even from the very day that St. Austin began to (300) preach the word of God to Æthelberht and the people of Kent.

In going to meet, for the first time, that pagan king, St. Austin[1] and his holy fellow-labourers went forward carrying for a banner a silver cross and the image of our Lord and Saviour painted on a board; and as they walked in procession, they sang the litanies. Just so, a little later, did they draw nigh, with the holy cross and image of Christ upraised, to the walls of Canterbury, wherein, by the kindness of the prince, an abode had been afforded them.

[1] At illi (Augustinus et socii) veniebant, crucem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam et imaginem Domini salvatoris in tabula depictam lætaniasque canentes. . . . Fertur autem quia appropinquantes civitati, more suo cum cruce sancta, et imagine magni Regis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, hanc lætaniam consona voce modularentur.—Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, i. 25.

Upon the principle that the Church is the teaching-house of holiness, therefore the walls[2] themselves (301) about the earthly building should speak of heaven—ought to bring us to think of

[2] Picturas imaginum sanctarum quas ad ornandum ecclesiam beati Petri Apostoli quam construxerat, detulit; imaginem videlicet beatæ Dei Genitricis semperque Virginis Mariæ, simul et duodecim Apostolorum, quibus mediam ejusdem ecclesiæ testudinem, ducto a pariete ad parietem tabulato, præcingeret; imagines evangelicæ historiæ, quibus australem ecclesiæ parietem decoraret; imagines visionum Apocalypsis beati Johannis, quibus septentrionalem æque parietem ornaret, quatinus intrantes ecclesiam omnes etiam litterarum ignari, quaquaversum intenderent, vel semper amabilem Christi sanctorumque ejus, quamvis in imagine, contemplarentur aspectum; vel Dominicæ incarnationis gratiam vigilantiore mente recolerent; vel extremi discrimen examinis quasi coram oculis habentes, districtius se ipsi examinare meminissent (Beda, *Vita SS. Abb.*, i. 6) [Plummer, i. 369, 370].

The use of images and pictures in churches, is well defended by this great Anglo-Saxon father in another part of his writings; and he shows that as under the Old, so in the New law, the employment of images is quite allowable: Sunt qui putant lege Dei prohibitum, ne velho minum, vel quorumlibet animalium, sive rerum similitudines sculpamus, aut depingamus in ecclesia, aut pariete, aut alio quolibet, eo quod in Decalogo legis dixerit: Non facias tibi sculptile, etc. (Exod. xx.). . . . Si enim licebat serpentem exaltari æneum in ligno, quem aspicientes filii Israel viverent: cur non licet exaltationem Domini salvatoris in cruce, qua mortem vicit, ad memoriam fidelibus depingendo reduci, vel alia ejus miracula et sanationes, quibus de eodem mortis auctore mirabiliter triumphavit, cum horum aspectus sæpe multum compunctionis soleat præstare contuentibus, et eis quoque qui litteras ignorant, quasi vivam Dominicæ historiæ pandere lectionem? Nam pictura Græce Ζωγραφία, id est viva scriptura vocatur. Si licuit duodecim boves æneos facere . . . . quid prohibet duodecim Apostolos depingere? . . . Si contra legem non fuit in eodem mari sculpturas histriatas in gyro decem cubitorum fieri, quomodo legi contrarium putabitur, si histriatas sanctorum ac martyrum Christi sculpamus, sive pingamus in tabulis, qui per custodiam divinæ legis ad gloriam meruerunt æternæ retributionis attingere?—Beda, *De Templ. Salomonis*, xix. [*P.L.* xci. 790, 791].

the Most (302) High—that being set apart for the dwelling-place of God in a certain manner here below, there should be an air therein to breathe, thoughts awakened other than of this world—that the smallest ornaments thereof should be as books to the lowly, the simple, the unlearned, able to speak to him who looked upon the painting or the statue, of the goodness and the love of Christ for mankind, the strength of his grace for overcoming evil, the sweetness of holy living here manifested in the lives of God's saints, able to show men beforehand the awful terrors of the day of doom, the never-ending woes for the wicked after judgment; upon this principle was it that the Anglo-Saxons strove their best to get the images of Christ, of his ever-virgin mother, of the apostles and of the saints, and to look for artists who might paint subjects from holy writ, to adorn the walls of their churches. How beautiful did those works of man make the house of God! how truthfully, though without speech or word, did the picture and the image speak of hope, belief, love, meekness, forgiveness, long-suffering, to the heart of him who gazed upon them, as he worshipped his one, his only Saviour—Christ.

On going, then, into an Anglo-Saxon minster, here and there might be seen, done in bronze, or (303) some one or other of the more valuable metals, representations of the life and miracles of

our divine Redeemer.[3] But in those places where it could be procured, the whole inside of the church was covered with paintings of the saints, and illustrations of different passages in holy writ.[4] Amongst all these, however, the image of the Blessed Virgin Mother of God always held a prominent position, as it did in the churches of continental Christendom at that period.[5]

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[3] Ast alii rutilo condunt vexilla metallo,
Quæ veneranda pii promunt miracula Christi.
—Ethelwolf, *De Abb. Lindisf.* xx. [*P.L.* xcvi. 1341].

[4] The way in which St. Benet Biscop had the walls of his church covered with paintings of subjects from the New Testament, is shown in note 2, p. 245.

[5] Even before the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, it was the custom in Gaul and Italy to set up images of the Blessed Virgin Mary in churches. That so near home to us as the neighbouring shores of Western Gaul, such a practice already existed in the middle of the sixth century, is shown by St. Gregory of Tours, in the account he gives (see note, p. 50) of the little Jew-boy, who had been shielded from the flames of the furnace by a lady, richly mantled, like the image of the Virgin holding Christ in her lap, which he had remembered seeing in the church, when he went thither along with his Christian schoolfellows; and St. Gregory the Great lets us know what was the usage of Italy and its islands, by the order which he issued to the Bishop of Cagliari for taking away with fitting veneration the image of the Mother of God, and the ever-to-be-revered cross, out of the synagogue in that city, wherein both these Christian symbols had been forcibly put up, through overflowing zeal, by a converted Jew: Judæi . . . . questi nobis sunt quod synagogam eorum quæ Caralis sita est, Petrus qui ex eorum superstitione ad Christianæ fidei cultum . . . . perductus est . . . . occupaverit, atque imaginem illic genitricis Dei Dominique nostri et venerandam crucem . . . . posuisset . . . . his hortamur affatibus, ut sublata exinde cum ea qua dignum est veneratione imagine atque cruce debeatis quod violenter ablatum est reformare.—*Gregorius Januario, episcopo Caralitano, Ep.* ix. 6, *Op.* ii. 930, fol. Parisiis, 1705 [*P.L.* lxxvii. 944].

This practice of the early Anglo-Saxon Christians, as exemplified

(304) We may be sure that these images of sweet St. Mary partook of the richness and the care with which the other church-ornaments were made. Often therefore do we find that they were wrought of the most precious materials, and after such a fashion as to show forth the deep respect and the love in which the queen of saints was held by the Anglo-Saxons: frequently was she to be seen enthroned (305) with her divine Son in her arms, where throne and statues were of silver and gold.[6]

But before all and above all other images, in their estimation, was that of the crucifix. The figure of Christ was frequently of the purest gold, a masterpiece of workmanship, and fastened, by four nails, to a cross of wood overlaid with plates

by St. Benet Biscop, of setting up the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary (see note, p. 245) in their churches, at once overthrows the assertion of the Magdeburg centuriators, who, upon no better authority than two modern writers, Nauclerus and Bale, contend that this was first done through St. Ecgwin, Bishop of Worcester, by command of some imaginary council supposed to have been held in London, but of which antiquity says nothing. Full thirty-four years passed away between the time when St. Benet Biscop ornamented his church with the image of our Lady (A.D. 678) and the year 712, in which this supposititious council of London is said to have been called.

[6] Imaginem sanctæ Mariæ cum puero suo sedentem in throno mirabiliter fabricatam, quam Elsinus abbas fecerat de auro et argento, &c.—*Acta S. Etheldredæ*, in *AA. SS. Junii*, iv. 532. Elsin was made Abbot of Ely in the reign of King Ethelred.

Imagines quæ consecrantur sunt sanctæ crucis, Virginis Mariæ gestantis Christum, et sancti Joannis Evangelistæ.—*Pontificale Anglicanum*, MS. 44 at Corpus Christi Coll., Camb; Nasmith, *Catalog.*, p. 28.

of gold, in which were set precious stones.[7] Sometimes, (306) too, was this figure formed hollow, in such a way as to allow of saints' relics being enclosed within it.[8]

[7] Hic crucis ex auro splendescit lamina fulvo
Argentique simul gemmis ornata metalla.
—S. Aldhelm, *De Basilica*, ed. Giles, p. 117 [*P.L.* ci. 1311].

Crucem bonæ memoriæ Edgari regis, Judæo cuidam Cantebrigiæ . . . commisit eodem modo (in vadimonium). Hanc ipse uno die amicis et vicinis in medium protulit, ob magnitudinem decoris ejus ac pretii inæstimationem; et cernentes opus qui aderant eximium ac præclari ingenii artificium, simul admirantur plurimum. Sed unus ex eis . . . imaginem de auro cruci affixam lædere parat, &c. (*Acta S. Etheldredæ*, in *AA. SS. Junii*, iv. 571). Another Anglo-Saxon saint and princess (St. Margaret, queen of Scotland) was equally munificent: Triplici enim salutis intensione nobilem ibi ecclesiam in Sanctæ Trinitatis ædificavit (Margarita) honorem; ob animæ videlicet regis et suæ redemptionem, atque ad obtinendam suæ soboli vitæ præsentis et futuræ prosperitatem. Quam ecclesiam diversa ornamentorum specie decoravit: inter quæ ad ipsum sacrosanctum altaris ministerium, non pauca ex solido ac puro auro vasa fuisse noscuntur. . . . Crucem quoque incomparabilis pretii imaginem Salvatoris habentem quam auro purissimo et argento intercurrentibus gemmis vestiri fecerat, ibidem collocavit. —*Vita S. Margaritæ Reginæ Scotiæ*, auct. Theodorico Monacho Dunelmensi coævo, in *AA. SS. Junii*, ii. 329.

[8] Hic etiam fecit crucem argenteam, quæ crux Leonis Præpositi nominatur, in qua forma corporis Christi ingenio artificis cavata, Sanctorum reliquias Vedasti et Amandi continebat (*Acta S. Etheldredæ*, auct. Thoma, Monacho Eliensi (A.D. 1163), in *AA. SS. Junii*, iv. 528). Leo was a monk of Ely, and lived about the middle of the tenth century. In the British Museum there is a fine old Textus or Book of the Gospels, beautifully bound in plates of silver parcel-gilt, and studded with precious stones. On one side stands out, in relief, a crucifix, gilt, but hollow within, and holding a lump of wax, in which is embedded a saint's relic.

The Anglo-Saxons crowned the head of our Saviour on the cross, not with thorns, but with a regal diadem: Est ibidem (Glastoniæ) crux antiquissima, quæ olim in refectorio stare consuevit; de hac ferunt, quod cum die quadam Edgarus rex et Dunstanus archiepiscopus ad mensam sederent in refectorio . . . . mirum dictu! imago Dominica ligno crucis affixa, toto se corpore excussit,

(307) But the Anglo-Saxons, following the Catholic rubric which the Church still keeps, of never using anything in the more solemn service of religion without having first hallowed it to God by prayer, had in all their ritual-books a particular form set down for the benediction of different kinds of crosses,[9] and of certain images; and from these (308) blessings we not only see of what costly materials the rood—so they called the crucifix

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ita ut motus impetu diadema ejus inter regem et archiepiscopum caderet (Guliel. Malmes., *De Antiq. Glaston. Ecc.* in Gale, iii. 304). Crucifixes so crowned are still to be met with—there is one in the Museum of Economical Geology, London.

[9] *Consecratio Crucis.* Benedic, Domine, hanc crucem tuam per quam eripuisti mundum a potestate demonum, et superasti passione tua suggessorem peccati, qui gaudebat in prævaricatione primi hominis per uetitum lignum, tristis tamen dimisit per lignum crucis tuæ quos antea male seductos habuit. Sanctifica, Domine, istud signaculum passionis tuæ, ut sit inimicis tuis obstaculum, et credentibus in te perpetuum perfice vexillum; Qui vivis et regnas Deus.

Hic lavas illam crucem cum aqua benedicta, et dic orationem: Omnipotens æterne Deus, Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, tu conditor cæli, conditor animarum vel angelorum et siderum: tu fundasti terram super stabilitatem suam: tu creasti mare, tu solus omnipotens Deus sine principio et sine fine, benedic hanc crucem fabricatam ad instar et ad imaginem crucis, in qua passus est Filius tuus unigenitus Jesus Christus pro salute mundi, quæ erat diffusa rore proprio decorati Sanguinis Jesu Christi Filii tui. Benedicimus et consecramus istam crucem in honorem et memoriam nominis tui, ut sit benedicta et consecrata hæc crux inter mysteria ecclesiastica in honore Trinitatis, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, qui tecum vivit.

Hic extergas crucem cum linteo, et postea offertur incensum in circuitu crucis, et dic orationem: Deus gloriæ, &c.

Hæc dicantur si crux adornetur, alioquin prætermittantur: Radiet hic unigeniti Filii tui splendor, &c. *Hic fac signum de oleo sancto super crucem, et benedic eam his verbis:* Consecrare et sanctificare digneris, &c.—*Alet Pontifical,* in Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.*, t. ii. l. ii. c. xiii. p. 253. Cf. *Pontifical of Robert of Jumieges* (H.B.S.), pp. 106–108.

—was often made, but may learn what to their eyes were the emblematic meanings of the gold, the wood, the crystal of which it was composed.

They thought, and truly thought, that love as well as awe for the Redeemer himself, not only could, but might be, well and with much becomingness displayed to him through the symbol of redemption: hence, to tell their devotedness for Christ, they bowed down before and kissed the crucifix;[10] to speak their dread of his anger for lies and broken promises, they took a solemn oath with their hands outstretched upon a rood.[11]

(309) Death it was that found the pious Anglo-Saxon armed with a crucifix for his last struggle in this world. Could we have gone and watched at the bedside of the dying, we should have beheld those who had ever been the strongest in head, the hardiest of hand, and the warmest in heart, making the most holy end, as they uplifted the image of Christ upon the cross for one among their weapons against the fiend's assaults as he strove to awaken within them an over-fear of God's wrath toward sin, or an over-trust in their own good deeds. Warriors as bold, statesmen wary as Turketul, the chancellor to King Athelstan and

[10] And let them (on Good Friday) pray to the holy rood, so that they all greet the rood of God with kiss.—*Canons of Ælfric*, in Thorpe, ii. 359.

[11] Si quis juraverit in manu episcopi, vel presbyteri, vel diaconi, vel in altari, vel in consecrata Christi cruce, et perjurium sit, iii annos jejunet. Si in cruce Christi non consecrata perjuraverit, unum annum jejunet.—*Pœnit. Ecgberti*, 68, § i. in Thorpe, ii. 229.

hero of the fight at Brunanburh — women, holy like Margaret, the Anglo-Saxon princess-queen of Scotland, and adorned, if not like her with a royal diadem, like her at least found worthy of a triple crown in heaven, for Christian perfection here below as maiden, wife, and mother, after being shriven and assoiled, aneled, and houseled, folded within their fainting arms the crucifix that was brought to them. In gazing on it, how they thought of their own sinfulness, but still remembered that God made Man, who poured out his blood upon the rood to save the world, would cleanse them and (310) wash their stains away if they were truly sorrowful. To show to those around all that the soul felt within and wished to say the while, what tears of repentance did they let fall from eyes becoming dim, to trickle down cheeks that grew more coldly wan, at every hard-fetched sigh a wailing of the heart, and the last breath breathed was a kiss upon the crucifix—a kiss to speak forgiveness to all in this world of injuries received—a kiss to ask forgiveness for self from the God of love and kindness in the world to come.[12]

[12] Communicatus (Turketulus abbas) Christi sacris misteriis, crucem quam de ecclesia ante Conventum ministri attulerant, datam ad osculandum ambobus brachiis amplexatus, quantis suspiriis, quot lachrimis, quibus singultibus, et quam frequenter osculatus fuerit Pacem, non potest explicari (Ingulph, *Hist.*), [ed. W. de Gray Birch, 1883, p. 88]. Such was the holy, touching death-scene of the high-born Turketul —one of the bravest warriors and wisest statesmen England ever gave birth to. That, also, of the pearl of

(311) But if the Anglo-Saxon, on coming into this life a helpless babe, was signed with the cross while being made a child of God and of the Church at baptism; if, too, he clenched in his death-grasp this emblem of his redemption as he yielded up his soul back again to its Maker's doom; that same symbol of his belief while here, and of his hope for the hereafter of salvation through Christ crucified, was upreared upon the spot of hallowed ground for the burial of the true believer, and threw its holy shadow over his grave.

Following a custom which had been so long established among the Britons, the Anglo-Saxons set up, on the south side of their churches and within the bounds of their burial-grounds, crosses of stone, elaborately ornamented by the mason's chisel. St. Cuthberht "wished to be buried nigh to but on the south side of his oratory, over against the eastern front of the holy cross which he had put up there."[13] His next successor in the

womankind, St. Margaret, was not less beautiful and truly affecting: Facies ejus (S. Margaritæ) jam in mortem palluerat, cum ipsa me atque alios mecum sacri altaris ministros sibi adstare suamque animam psallentes Christo jubet commendare. Ipsa quoque illam quam nigram crucem nominare quamque in maxima semper veneratione habere consuevit, sibi afferri præcepit, . . . eique allatam cum reverentia suscepit; complecti, deosculari, oculos, faciem illa signare crebrius studuit. Jamque frigescente toto corpore . . . crucem interim sibi ante oculos statuens, utraque manu tenebat.—*Vita S. Margaritæ*, auct. Theodorico coævo, in *AA. SS. Junii*, ii. pp. 334, 335.

[13] Cum autem Deus susceperit animam meam, sepelite me in hac mansione juxta oratorium meum ad meridiem, contra orientalem plagam Sanctæ Crucis, quam ibidem erexi.—Beda, *Vita S. Cuthbercti* [*P.L.* xciv. 777].

bishopric of Lindisfarne, Ethelwold, bade another, very beautifully wrought, to be made; and when Simeon, the monk of Durham, wrote (*c.* A.D. 1129), this latter cross stood in the centry-garth or cemetery of that cathedral, whither (312) it had been brought along with the body of Saint Cuthberht.[14]

This custom of always having a cross in the churchyards everywhere in this country, lasted all through the British, the Anglo-Saxon, and the English periods, until the changeful times of Edward VI. and Elizabeth. So good and fitting a ritual custom is one amongst those which it is to be hoped will be revived again by Catholics, whensoever they are happy enough to be able to build a church. Wales and Cornwall abound in old British, our midland counties with Anglo-Saxon, and the whole island with English churchyard and wayside crosses. Though the modern Puritan, like the ancient heathenish Dane, has tried his best to pull down and smash the emblem of Christ; though the demon has done his utmost to scratch out all such marks of Christianity from our dear native hills and valleys; man and Satan have toiled in vain, and the curious time-worn granite cross, wrought all about with an intricacy of knots and

[14] Fecerat iste (Ethelwoldus) de lapide crucem artifici opere expoliri et in sui memoriam suum in eo nomen exarari . . . quæ etiam usque hodie in hujus, id est, Dunelmensis ecclesiæ cœmiterio stans sublimis, &c.—[*Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.* i. 12; (R.S. lxxv. i. 39).]

figures in low relief, hardly to be traced beneath the lichen overgrowing them, so often to be met with in the far-west parts of the kingdom, and the more modern though still old cross of stone, with (313) its headless figures and purfling of broken crockets, to be seen all over the land, tell of the Catholic belief and the Catholic practices of its children, beginning with the Britons and coming down to the middle of the sixteenth century.

(314) CHAPTER V

SECTION I

After the altar and its adornments, the robes worn by those who waited around it ask for our notice.

The Sacred Vestments in which the Anglo-Saxon Clergy arrayed Themselves

for the holy Sacrifice and the other ministrations of the Church, were, with very few and unimportant differences, the same both in number, shape, material, and ornament, as those which, to the present day, the Catholic priesthood in England and throughout Christendom wear at the altar. Besides the writer's incidental description, we have the well-drawn and unmistakeable representations of these garments bequeathed to us by the limner's pencil in those paintings which are so often to be found in Anglo-Saxon MSS., among which none (315) holds, for this as well as other reasons, so high a place as the gorgeously illuminated Benedictional of St. Æthelwold. In that beautiful codex may be seen holy bishops and priests clothed in their full sacrificial vestments; and the wood-cut, given previously on page 152,

copied from one of those figures, will, in the first place, show

The Shape of their Chasuble,

which was circular, had a hole in the middle only large enough to let the head of the wearer go through, and when put on, fell with easy gracefulness in full majestic folds all around his person, muffling his arms as well as his shoulders.

Such was the dignified and symbolic form which this vestment took at the beginning of Christianity: such was the form which, with very slight varieties, it ever kept in this country among the Britons, the Anglo-Saxons, the Normans, and the English, through the shocks and civil revolutions of almost a thousand years—from the first preaching of the true belief amongst our forefathers, up to the change of the people's faith, brought about against the people's wishes, by the wickedness and wilfulness of our last Tudor rulers.

Anciently there were two kinds of chasubles, the common and the processional one. The only difference, however, between them was, that the latter had sewed to it a hood, which could be worn while walking from one church to another in all solemn (316) processions: hence the hooded chasuble took its distinctive appellation. Owing to a dearth of the earlier ecclesiastical documents belonging to this country, nothing positive can be said upon this subject; still we may infer that the

Anglo-Saxon, as well as the British clergy, knew and employed both the one and the other of these vestments, for before the seventh century the chasuble with a hood was often spoken of, and continued to be used for ages afterwards among their nearest continental neighbours, the Gaulish priesthood.[1] Nor (317) is it likely that such a

[1] The ordinary chasuble for every-day use is noticed in the following bequest: Amalario . . . presbytero capsulam unam communem de serico (*Test. S. Perpetui Turon. Ep.* in *AA. SS. Aprilis*, i. 750). St. Perpetuus was third in succession from St. Martin, and was consecrated A.D. 461. A few years later, we find especial notice taken of another kind of chasuble: Futuro episcopo successori meo amphibalum album paschalem relinquo (*Test. S. Remigii Remensis, P.L.* lxv. 971); St. Remigius flourished A.D. 499. That these paschal chasubles had a hood, is shown by a curious passage in St. Gregory of Tours. Of course, the reader is aware that the ancient word "amphibalum," like the modern one "planeta," is only another one for the chasuble. In recounting how the wrath of God overtook a certain deacon for profaning St. Nicetius's chasuble, St. Gregory of Tours writes: Diacono cuidam hujus (S. Nicetii) casulam tribuit : erat autem valida eo quod et ipse vir Dei robusto fuisset corpore. Cappa autem hujus indumenti ita dilatata erat atque consuta, ut solent in illis candidis fieri quæ per paschalia festa sacerdotum humeris imponuntur. . . . Vere, inquit, quia et hac casula tergo utor, et de capsa ejus parte prolixiore decisa tegumen pedum aptabo . . . Verum ubi deciso cucullo aptatis pedulis pedes operuit, &c. (S. Gregorius Turon. *Vitæ Patr.*, viii. 5, *P.L.* lxxi. 1045 or pp. 1188, 1189, ed. Ruinart). St. Nicetius died A.D. 573. But some years earlier, in the same age and country, flourished St. Cæsarius of Arles, one of the many of whose charitable deeds was, that he gave away his paschal processional chasuble : Ingrediens ergo cellam suam casulamque quam processoriam habebat albamque paschalem exhibens dedit ei, dicens, Vade, vende cuicumque clerico, et pretio ipsius redime captivum tuum.—*Vita S. Cæsarii Arelat.* in *AA. SS. Augusti*, vi. 72.

From the life of another holy bishop, it would seem that in some places the custom was for all chasubles to have a hood : Lacrymarum ei (S. Bonito Ep. Claramont.) gratia in sacro non deerat officio, ita ut amphibali summitas qua caput tegebatur ex

form of sacred attire, which was adopted in a land so nigh and must have been found so convenient—especially to the grey-haired bishop well stricken in years—before mitres in any shape were introduced, would have been overlooked in a climate like our own.

The way in which the old common or unhooded chasuble sat on the wearer's person may be seen (318) from the accompanying wood-cuts, representing two archbishops of Ravenna; the one is St. Maximianus, who with his successor Ecclesius and the Emperor Justinian, then living, is thus figured in the mosaics which incrust the north wall of the choir at St. Vitalis's church in the above-named

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profusione earum madida videretur (*Vita S. Boniti*, ab auctore cœtaneo, versus A.D. 780. *AA. SS. Januarii, die* XV. p. 1071). Indeed St. Isidore of Seville says (A.D. 596), speaking of the garments worn by men: Casula est vestis cucullata, dicta per diminutionem a casa, quod totum hominem tegat quasi minor casa. Unde et cuculla, quasi minor cella, sic et Græci planetas dictos volunt quia horis errantibus evagantur.—*Etym.* xix. 24 [*P.L.* lxxxii. 691].

That hooded chasubles continued to be worn by the priesthood in Gaul up to at least the latter half of the ninth century, is shown by one of the illuminations in the splendid codex of the Bible, given by the monks of Metz to Charles the Bald, A.D. 869, an engraving of which may be seen in Baluze, *Capitul. Reg. Franc.*, ii. 847, Venetiis, 1773. De Vert noticed, figured on a statue at Rheims Cathedral, a hooded chasuble, and tells us that he saw such a vestment in the treasury of Meaux: On trouve des capuchons attachez à quelques-unes de ces chasubles, comme à celle d'un évêque, dont on voit la figure à Rheims au coin de la porte-Basin ou Basée; et aussi à celle de S. Gilbert de Meaux (conservée assez peu soigneusement dans le thrésor de cette église) dont le capuchon est de la forme de celuy de la cuculle des Chartreux: étant au surplus garni tout au tour d'un galon ou parement large d'environ deux doigts.—*Explication des Cérémonies de l'Église*, ii. 343.

city. As those highly interesting mosaics were done about the year 547, they are the earliest

work of art in which the sacrificial chasuble is unmistakeably shown.*

* For an accurate drawing of these two figures, I owe many grateful thanks to the kindness of his Eminence the Archbishop of Ravenna, Cardinal Falconieri, who was so obliging as to send a young artist of ability to the church of St. Vitalis, and do it on the spot, from the mosaics there, on purpose for this work.

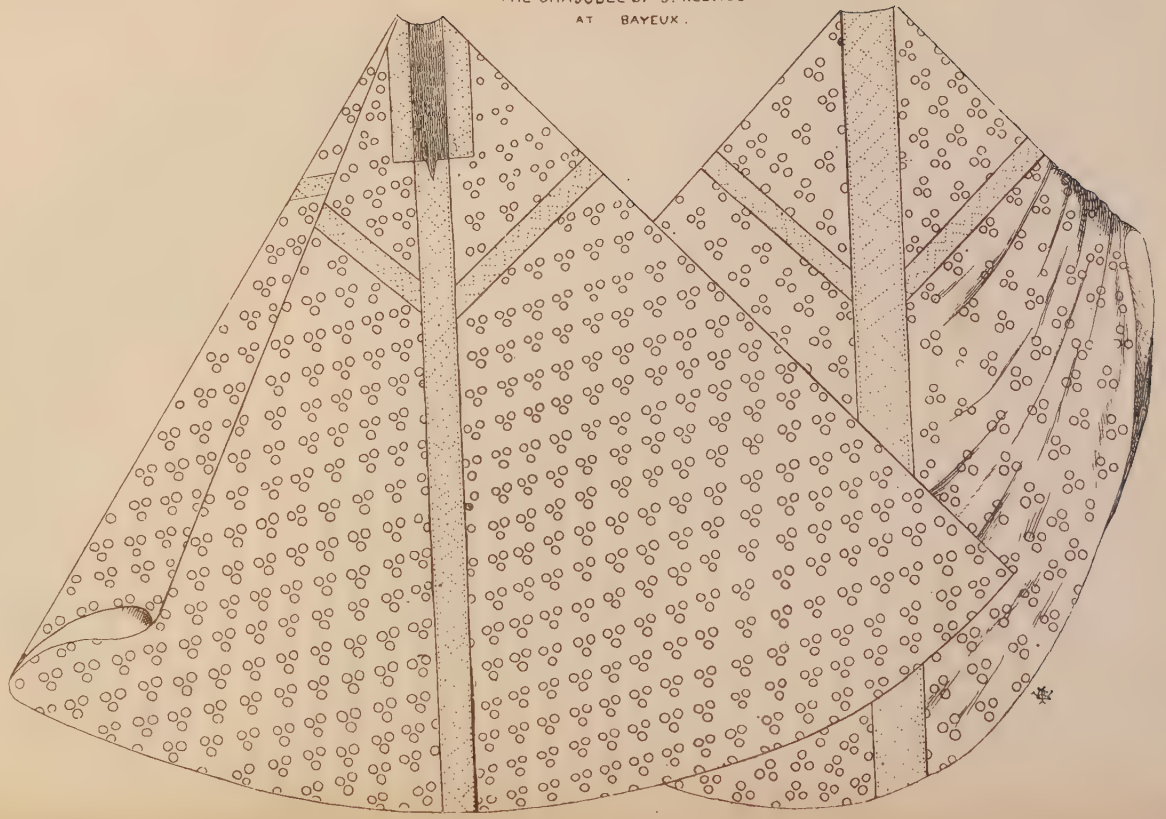
(319) A real Anglo-Saxon chasuble is not known to exist now; yet we may presume to find its precise (320) shape in those venerable old vestments which France can boast of having in her possession, and among which none claims a remoter antiquity than that interesting one said to have once belonged to St. Regnobert, and still preserved at Bayeux,[2] and (321) of which an etching

[2] On conserve depuis un temps immémorial, dans le trésor de l'église cathédrale de Bayeux, une relique que l'on appelle la chasuble de St.-Regnobert, accompagnée d'une étole et d'une manipule, qui sont tous les trois évidemment d'une grande ancienneté, et tres-remarquables sous le triple rapport de la forme, de la matière et du travail.

La chasuble diffère de celles en usage de nos jours, qui laissent les bras découverts: elle est absolument infondibuliforme; c'est un demi-cercle dont le rayon est de quatre pieds de roi, ployé en deux, formant ainsi un quart de cercle, et ayant les deux bords cousus depuis la circonférence jusqu'au centre, à l'exception d'une fente laissé au sommet de l'angle pour y passer la tête. Cette forme conique ne permettant pas à la personne revêtue de la chasuble l'usage de ses mains, un ruban attaché sur chaque épaule au croisillon de l'orfroi, sert à retrousser le bas du vêtement. Cet orfroi paraît très-ancien, plus même que l'étoffe dont la chasuble est faite: son tissu est formé de losanges; il a deux pouces de largeur sur le devant, et sur le dos trois pouces et demi. L'étoffe de la chasuble se rapprocherait, par sa contexture, des étoffes de soie de la Chine, nommées *lampas*, façonnées à-peu-près comme les gros de Tours brochés; elle est à fond bleu, parsemé de pois blancs de deux lignes de diamètre, régulièrement espacés par groupes de trois, ou, en terme de blason, deux et un, de manière à former des petits triangles. La chaîne et la trame sont de soie extrêmement torse; de sorte que le grain de l'étoffe est très-saillant. En dernier lieu, la chasuble est doublée de soie plus légère, couleur violette unie.

L'étole a sept pieds huit pouces de longueur sur un pouce huit lignes de largeur; vers les extrémités elle s'élargit insensiblement d'environ un pouce et demi de plus, et les bouts sont garnis d'une petite frange en soie verte. Son étoffe est composée de bandes alternatives de quatre pouces de longueur, l'une en soie violette,

THE CHASUBLE OF ST REGNOBERT.
AT BAYEUX.



is here given on the opposite page. Judging by analogy, we are warranted in thinking this curious old Norman chasuble to be exactly the same in shape and make as the like kind of sacred robe worn by the Anglo-Saxons. That it is the type of the earliest continental Norman chasuble cannot be disputed; and (322) that such was the shape of the chasubles which, for more than a century after the coming over of the Normans into England, continued to be used in France, we know for certain from the one still revered at Sens [3] as a relic, because

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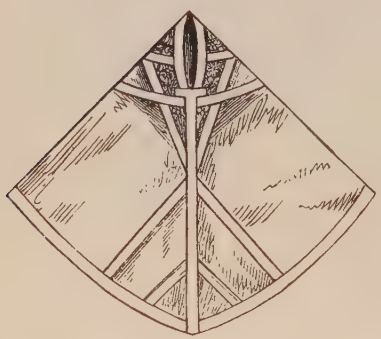
l'autre en drap d'or, toutes les deux brodées en semences de perles et bordées d'un galon de soie verte: le dessein de la broderie présente une série de carreaux dont les entrelacemens forment des croix en sautoir; et l'ensemble du travail porte le cachet oriental. Le manipule a la même forme que l'étole: comme elle, il s'élargit par le bas: mais il n'a que quatre pieds de long, et n'est pas brodé en perles.—*Description d'un Monument Arabe du Moyen Age, conservé à Bayeux en Normandie.* Caen, Chapolin Fils.

Although we may not believe that this chasuble ever belonged to St. Regnobert himself, who was alive A.D. 630, yet there can be no reasonable doubt of its venerable age reaching, as we guess, as far back as the beginning of the eleventh century. The foregoing description of it, as well as our etching, is taken from the small pamphlet just named, now become very scarce.

[3] In his notice of Sens Cathedral, De Moleon tells us: Le jour de S. Thomas de Cantorberi on se sert de l'ancienne chasuble de S. Thomas de Cantorberi, qui n'est point échancrée, mais toute ample par bas comme un manteau (*Voy. Liturg.*, p. 173). It is 3 feet 10 inches deep, English measure, and, as the reader may see by the wood-cuts, is in shape very nearly an exact square. Mr. H. Shaw, to whose kindness I am indebted for the use of the two accompanying wood-cuts, has figured the ornament on the back of the chasuble in his interesting work, *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, vol. i. plate 15.

In the church of Saint-Rambert-sur-Loire, there is an old

our martyred (323) countryman, St. Thomas of Canterbury, often offered up Mass vested in it, and which the reader sees figured in the wood-cuts; while we behold a near likeness to it on the cumbent effigies in several of the episcopal tombs in our English cathedrals. Here, then, we have



FRONT OF ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY'S CHASUBLE, KEPT AT SENS CATHEDRAL.

BACK OF THE SAME.

a pattern of the chasuble as it was wont to be fashioned by the Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and English[4] bishops and priests. St. (324) Osmund

chasuble, in shape much like the one above, but of a somewhat later date; it has been figured and described by M. Boué, Curé de Saint-Just; Lyon, 1844.

[4] The clipped and open-sided chasuble was never beheld in Catholic England; but our priesthood always wore the full, unbroken one up to the last days of Queen Mary, of injured memory. This is evident from several of our national monuments.

In Middle Claydon Church, Buckinghamshire, may still be seen a sepulchral brass of Alexander Anne, priest, who died A.D. 1526; and the accompanying wood-cut of it shows that the chasuble then in use was as wide and as flowing under the Tudor king as among the Anglo-Saxons.

In the library of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, there is

and his countrymen wrought no change upon this vestment, which they found to be in (325) every

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a beautiful "Evangelisterium," or volume containing those portions of the Gospels sung by the deacon at High Mass on Sundays and festivals. Some time ago I was indulged with a leisurely inspection of this codex. It is a tall folio manuscript, on vellum, fairly written, and ornamented with several highly finished and well-illuminated capital letters and other ornaments. From one of these illuminations bearing a shield charged with the arms of Cardinal Wolsey, and from another exhibiting, hung saltire-wise, the two silver pillars always borne before him, and of which he seems, by Sir Thomas More, to have been somewhat over-fond, we may safely presume that the manuscript was written expressly for the use of that dignitary's chapel, or, at least, by his command. Now in the initial letter, finely illuminated, at the beginning of the Gospel for All Saints, there is represented a crowd of the just, who are to stand on the right hand of our Lord at the day of doom. In the glorious company of the righteous is a bishop, with his back turned towards the reader. This prelate is robed in his chasuble, which is as majestic, as large, and as undulating in its folds, as the same kind of vestment seen figured on our oldest monuments. No cross reaches athwart the shoulders, as in the chasuble now employed in England; but a rich orphrey runs all up the middle, and, dividing itself a little way below the neck, takes the shape of the letter Y, and passes, in that form, over the shoulders. From the scription, and the style of painting in its illuminations—as well as from some symptoms, to be seen in the accessories and architectural ornaments, of a liking,

respect the same here as they had left it in Normandy; for in both countries it was shaped by disposing the stuff of which it had to be made into the form of the half of a perfect circle, and being folded in two, the straight sides were sewed together all the way up to within a short space from the right angle, where an opening was left for the head of the wearer to pass through, and a narrow slip was clipped away at bottom in front, to render it somewhat shorter before than behind. The only alteration the shape of the chasuble ever underwent in Catholic England was a very slight one, and consisted in cutting its lower extremities, from being circular, into the form of two reversed pointed arches, as is shown here in the wood-cut of the beautiful sepulchral brass in Wensley Church, Richmondshire. Thus, in fact, as far as (326) mere geometrical outline

then creeping into England, for that frivolous, debased manner known in France as the "renaissance"—we may safely presume this manuscript to have been finished not long before Wolsey's downfall.

In Sutton Coldfield Church still exists the monument of the last Catholic Bishop of Exeter, Vesey, who died A.D. 1554, in the reign of Mary. It is a high tomb, and on it lies a figure of the prelate, vested in his pontificals; and his chasuble differs not a jot, in any particular, from the one worn in England centuries before.

went, the chasuble took upon itself the most prominent architectural feature of the times: when the architecture was round, this vestment's extremities were round, but it laid aside this circular for the pointed form when the architecture became pointed. Such a variation was, however, very small, and did not anywise touch its olden, its venerable, its symbolic shape. It was robbed of none of its majesty—it was still allowed to bend itself with softness and ease in masses of light folds upon the wearer, the whole of whose person, his length, his breadth, it wrapped round — none of its wide-spreading fulness was cut off. Truly was it thus a speaking emblem of unity in faith, being then undivided at the sides, and of charity —that far-reaching love for God and man shown by a holy life:[5] the uppermost vestment of (327) bishop and of priest, so large, so wide, and

[5] From its being made full, unbroken, round, and worn the uppermost of their ministerial garments, by the priesthood, when clothed for the holy sacrifice, the chasuble, in the symbolism of the Church, has ever been looked upon as emblematic of true Christian charity. Rabanus Maurus (A.D. 847) says of it: Septimum sacerdotale indumentum est quod casulam vocant; dicta est autem per diminutionem a casa eo quod totum hominem tegat. . . . Hæc supremum omnium indumentorum est, et cætera omnia interius per suum munimen tegit et servat. Hanc ergo vestem possumus intelligere charitatem quæ cunctis virtutibus supereminet, &c. (*De Inst. Cler.*, i. 21; Hittorp, p. 573). St. Bruno, Bishop of Segni (A.D. 1087), asks: Sed quid planeta, quæ et casula vocatur, nisi charitatem designat? unde et merito superior est, siquidem Deus charitas est. Hæc enim vestis omnia alia vestimenta infra se claudit et continet; sicut et in charitate omnia legis et prophetarum mandata continentur, dicente apostolo:

spreading itself all about him, aptly did it betoken that (328) virtue which, above all others, should ever shine out through all the actions of the good and worthy churchman. The greater part of our modern chasubles, especially those which come to us from France and Belgium, have lost much, if not the whole, of this beautiful and obvious symbolism—they are hard, stiff, narrow, board-like. The slitting up of this fine vestment at its

Plenitudo legis est charitas.—Bruno Signiensis, *De Consecr. Eccl.* [*P.L.* clxv. 1105].

Rupert, Abbot of Duyts (A.D. 1111), sees in this vestment an emblem of the oneness and wholeness of the church: Casula ergo, vestimentum Christi quod est ecclesia significat. Est autem integra et undique clausa, ut unitatem et integritatem veræ fidei demonstret (*De Divin. Offic.*, i. 22, Hittorp, p. 862). So does Stephen of Autun (A.D. 1113): Casula undique integra, unitatem fidei designat (*De Sacram. Altaris* [*P.L.* clxxii. 1282]). Honorius of Autun (A.D. 1130) says, also, of this same garment: Casula omnibus indumentis supponitur per quam charitas intelligitur, quæ omnibus virtutibus eminentior creditur. Casula autem quasi parva casa dicitur, quia sicut a casa totus homo tegitur, ita charitas totum corpus virtutum complectitur.—*Gemma Animæ*, i. 207. [Hittorp, p. 1232.]

While speaking of it, Pope Innocent III. (A.D. 1198) remarks: Super omnes vestes induit casulam vel planetam, quæ significat charitatem. Charitas enim operit multitudinem peccatorum . . . . Latitudo planetæ significat latitudinem charitatis, quæ usque ad inimicos extenditur.—*De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*, i. 58. [*P.L.* ccxvii. 795.]

The writer of a very valuable work, which is but too little known, Odericus, Canon of the cathedral of Sienna (A.D. 1213), tells his readers: Per casulam quam demum superinduit, intellige charitatem, sine qua esset "velut æs sonans, aut cymbalum tinniens," quam in brachia elevat, ut ipsam per opera dilectionis ad omnes extendat.—*Ordo Offic. Ecc. Senensis*, ii. 41 (p. 442, ed. Trombelli. Bologna, 1766).

Gabriel Biel (A.D. 1480) observes: Ultimum vestimentum est planeta sive casula; que quia suprema, rotunda, lata, cetera omnia tegit, et manuum elevatione dividitur: charitatem omnium virtu-

sides followed when it had been shorn of its flowing folds: both were the slow work of time, and not the results of any canon or recommendation sent forth by the Church in even a provincial, much less a general council; no papal decree ever afforded the slightest grounds (329) for such an alteration;[6] the nibbling scissors cut away the old vestments every now and then; and when new ones were to be supplied, bad taste

tum supremam: operientem peccatorum multitudinem representat. Et quia nunquam excidit, sed hic inchoata in futuro consummata in eternum perseverat (1 *Cor.*). Item recte per casule rotunditatem eternitatis figura designatur.—*Sacri Canonis Misse Expositio*, lectio xii. fol. xxi. 1515.

If not the whole, very much at least of this beautiful symbolism, which Catholic antiquity loved to behold in the chasuble, was cut off from it by the same ruthless hands that nibbled its old flowing folds away till it dwindled into its present narrow proportions.

[6] That the church neither originated the cutting away of the old chasuble, nor afforded, by any of those usual forms which she employs for making known her wishes, the slightest pretext to do so, is told us by some of her highest dignitaries. The learned Bishop of Toul, M. Saussay, thus observes: Adeo decisa est (casula) ut plurimum vestis illa sacerdotalis, ut vix quoad utrumque latus infra humeros dependeat, tantum abest ut pertingat usque ad cubitos. . . . Id vero minime contigisse ex ullo Pontificum judicio, ecclesiæque lege, sed ex privato genio quorundam, &c. (*Panoplia Sacerdotalis*, p. 128). The pious Bellotte, another star of the liturgical diadem of France, echoes the opinion of M. Saussay: De hujusmodi vestis amplitudine loquitur Honorius Augustodunensis in *Gemma animæ* ubi casula, quasi parva casa dicitur, &c. . . . Sed hujusmodi casulæ forma perperam immutata est ex privato quorumdam, &c. (*Ritus Ecclesiæ Laudunensis Observationes*, p. 342). Another of the highest authorities on this head, the learned Cardinal Bona, while speaking of the clipping of the chasuble, says: Quam (casulæ scissionem) nullo Pontificum seu Synodorum decreto stabilitam invenio.—Bona, *Rer. Liturg.*, lib. i. cap. xxiv. § viii. (t. ii., p. 237, ed. Sala).

and parsimony whispered to each other, and made them small. These alterations were wrought partly by lay folks,[7] principally by unauthorised

[7] Notwithstanding the wrong-headedness which he showed in trying to write down all ideas of symbolism in the liturgy, De Vert could not help acknowledging that lay-folks, not the Church, cut away the chasuble. Noticing the change wrought upon its shape, that author says: Mais surtout la chasuble, qui enveloppoit autrefois le prêtre et le couvroit entièrement . . . l'abandonneroit-on, pour ainsi dire, au bras seculier, c'est à dire, la livreroit-on aux chasubliers, pour la tailler à leur gré, l'échancrer, la raccourcir et la retrécir de manière à ne pouvoir plus même couvrir ni les bras ni les jambes? Et en vérité, seroit-il permis de défigurer ainsi un habit consacré par l'idée morale qu'on y auroit attachée dès le commencement? (*Explication des Cérémonies de l'Église*, t. ii. Preface, p. xiv.) But this is not all; for in another part of the same volume, De Vert thunders, as he should do, with becoming wrath against a system which left such holy things to the freaks and the fancy of vestment-makers, who, he says, "are allowed to have the liberty of nibbling, clipping, cutting, slashing, shortening, just as the whim may take, chasubles, dalmatics, tunicles, and other priestly garments or ornaments, which serve for the ministry of the altar: in a word, to give these robes what shape they like, without consulting the bishop on the matter, who, it should seem, ought to have some inspection over the form of such sort of garments." Les chasubliers ont toute liberté de rogner, couper, tailler, trancher, et écourter, ainsi que bon leur semble, les chasubles, dalmatiques, tuniques, et autres habits sacerdotaux ou ornemens, servant au ministère de l'autel; en un mot, leur donner la figure qu'ils jugent à propos, et sans en consulter l'évêque, qui cependant devroit bien, ce semble, avoir quelque inspection sur la forme de ces sortes d'habits.—*Ibid.*, p. 296.

What is here asserted about the unauthorised way in which this change in the shape and size of the chasuble was brought about in France, has been declared by the most trustworthy writers to have been the same in those countries in which they were living. The learned prelate Bottari, whom we may look upon as a witness, not only for Italy in general, but for the apostolic city in particular, speaks to the fact, that the abridgment of this sacred garment was wrought, even at Rome itself, not by the Church, but by such laymen as artists; and he thus laments it: La forma degli abiti sacri è in oggi rimessa come quella dei profani

churchmen, (330) whose reverence in such matters for antiquity was little; whose knowledge of

all' arbitrio degli artefici che gli vanno a lor capriccio mutando insensibilmente.—Bottari, *Roma Sotterranea*, iii. 36.

No other than the old, uncut chasuble is even now allowed to be employed by the Greeks and the rest of the Oriental churches; and it must not be imagined that this venerable symbolic garment, which no decree of the Church has ever forbidden, was so entirely driven away from public use among us Latins, by ignorant lay-folks, or listless churchmen, as never to be seen upon our priesthood at the altars of Western Christendom. Quite the contrary; for in not a few among the cathedral and collegiate churches of France, the chasuble was a long time still made very large and wide; and the true old ones continued, while they lasted, to be worn on particular, solemn occasions, or whenever some old-fashioned priest liked to ask for them. Nay, there were some monasteries, be it spoken to their praise, where the altered chasuble was never adopted, but the old uncut one inviolably preserved, and that as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century,—for Martene, who published his valuable *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins* in the year 1717, says, while describing his visit to the Cistercian abbey of Orval: Les chasubles du célébrant faites à l'antique, ne sont point eschancrées du côté des bras (I. ii. 149). Indeed, it is not at all astonishing that a man like Martene, so deeply read in the ancient liturgies—a love towards which prompted him to spend his life in adding to the literary stores of the Church by the publication of such invaluable and laborious works—should be found showing, as he always does, so much heartfelt delight whenever he beheld a good, old, uncut chasuble. Such feelings, no doubt, made him say of his visit to Beauvais Cathedral: On nous y montra de très beaux ornemens; mais ceux que j'estime le plus, sont des anciennes chasubles toutes rondes qui servent seulement le jour du Jeudy-saint à la bénédiction du saint chrême, et le Vendredy-saint.—*Voyage Littéraire*, I. ii. 156.

Some fifty years after Martene's time, another distinguished French liturgical writer, under the borrowed name of De Moléon, tells us that, when he published his highly valuable work (A.D. 1757), the fine full chasuble (p. 264), said to have been worn by our own glorious martyr, St. Thomas of Canterbury, was always used on that saint's festival: De Moléon's own words are already quoted (p. 263. [His journeys were made 1700–1718, *i.e.* in Martene's time.] Moreover, the same liturgical traveller informs us, that at the cathedral of Angers an old-fashioned chasuble was used

ecclesiastical symbolism (331) even less. So far was the Church herself from giving her counte-

on Good Friday, and Holy Saturday, and at Whitsuntide: Le célébrant . . . . se sert d'une chasuble à l'antique, c'est-à-dire, toute ronde et toute fermée. . . . Les chanoines qui chantent (les prophéties de Samedi-Saint) prennent . . . de semblables chasubles antiques de différentes couleurs. Le Samedi de la Pentecôte on s'en sert aussi (*Voyages Liturgiques de France*, p. 95). But these old vestments differed but slightly from the usual one in that church; for the same writer found in daily use there, chasubles more than five feet English in length, and as many in breadth, very slightly clipped about the arms: Les chasubles sont si amples, qu'elles ont bien cinq pieds de largeur, et pour le moins autant de longueur, et ne sont qu'un peu échancrées par les bras (*Ib.*, p. 80). Likewise during De Moléon's time, the chasubles used at Rouen (*Ib.*, p. 378), were made in strict accordance with the Rouen ritual, which enacted that this vestment should be large, and so wide as to fall down and reach below the priest's hands, as we find in the extract given from it a little later, note 9; and at St. Stephen's church, in the same city, this author tells us: Toutes les chasubles qui servent au grand autel sont les plus amples qu'il y ait à Rouen après celles de la cathédrale.—*Ib.*, p. 411.

Just about the same period another very distinguished liturgical writer, Father Le Brun, in his remarks on the chasuble, informs us: On conserve encore de ces grandes chasubles à Notre-Dame de Paris, à Saint-Denys, à Saint-Martin-des-Champs, et aux Chartreux; et les prêtres qui ne craignent pas d'en être embarrassés, s'en servent quelquefois.—*Explication, &c., de la Messe*, i. 52, *note* 7 (Paris, 1777).

Now as De Moléon published his highly curious book in the year 1757, and Le Brun his twenty years later, there is every reason for thinking that these large old chasubles and the newer ones made after the ancient model, both of which were worn in so many different parts of France at the time these writers lived, continued to be used in the same churches up to the days of the French Revolution.

May we hope that the present bishops of France, amongst whom many, with Cardinal Bonald at their head, are doing so much to awaken amid their clergy and all their countrymen the love and the study of Church antiquities, unto their other well-earned titles to the thankful gratitude of every antiquarian and liturgical student, will soon add the fresh one of having brought back into use the fine, full, old chasuble of the ages of faith, the beautiful

nance to the change in the shape (332) of her principal vestment, that in some instances—such as her provincial councils held by the truly (333) illustrious St. Charles Borromeo at Milan,[8] and

symbol of that oneness in belief which once was, and, as we heartily trust, will be again throughout Christendom.

Let this note end with the rebuke, in his own words, of Doni, an Italian antiquary, cast upon those churchmen who, being more thoughtful of self-ease than of what was becoming and dignified, cut away the folds of the old chasuble: Ceterum proavorum ætate ejusdem fere formæ apud nostrates fuit sacrum hoc vestimentum, quam apud Græcos hodieque conspicimus: rotundum videlicet æquatoque in ambitum gyro: non autem in duas semirotundas plagas anteriorem ac posteriorem divisum quam in speciem paulatim degeneravit dum sacrificaturi onus illud brachiorum pertæsi, et commoditati magis quam decori studentes, sensim ab utroque latere eam resecant, donec cubito tenus pertingeret.—Doni, *De utraque pœnula*, in Grævius, *Thes. Antiq.*, vi. 1155.

[8] In the Acts of the Church of Milan, drawn up by St. Charles Borromeo, we find it ordained that the chasuble should be made of the following breadth and length: Casula (quam alii phelonium, et planetam etiam ab ampla latitudine dicunt) cubitos tres, et paulo amplius late patens sit; ita ut ab humeris proiecta, complicationem unius saltem palmi infra utrunque humerum recipere possit.

Longe autem cubitos totidem, aut aliquanto longius demissa sit, ut pene ad talos usque pertingat (*Acta Ecc. Mediolanensis, Actor. pars IIII, Instruct. Supell. Eccles.*, lib. ii. tom. i. p. 627. Mediol. 1599). In another part of the work (p. 638), a model is given of the exact cubit meant by St. Charles, and thus we are enabled to compare it with our own standard of measurement. This cubit is equal to seventeen inches and a quarter English; so that we find St. Charles ordained that in his diocese the chasuble was never to be less, but might always be somewhat more, in width than four feet three inches and three-quarters of our measure. The peculiarity of the Ambrosian rite is not in its chasuble, which has always been just like the one worn in every part of the Latin Church; and it is quite a mistake on the side of Gavanti to think, as he seems to do in his *Thesaurus Sac. Rit.*, pars v., *De Mensuris Supell.* (i. 553, August. Vindel. 1763), that the Ambrosian prescribes a chasuble any wider or other than the one required by the Roman custom. Indeed, unless the chasuble be as large and as full as that described

by the ordinances of an archbishop of Rouen [9] for Normandy,—she tried her best to stop the innovation.

above and ordained by St. Charles for Milan, those rubrics of the Roman liturgy which speak of this vestment cannot be followed: the "Cæremoniale Episcoporum" directs (lib. ii. cap. viii. § 19): Mox surgit episcopus, et induitur ab eisdem planeta quæ hinc inde super brachia aptatur, et revolvitur diligenter, ne illum impediat; and the "Pontificale," in the ordination of priests, contains the following: Postea imponit (episcopus) cuilibet successive casulam usque ad scapulas, quam quilibet teneat super humeros complicatam, a parte anteriori deorsum dependentem, &c.; and a little later—Deinde explicans casulam quam unusquisque habet super humeros complicatam induit illa quemlibet, &c. Who ever sees the chasuble rolled up now over the bishop's arms to leave them free at solemn High Mass; or above the shoulders of a priest at his ordination? and yet, by looking at the wood-cuts here and pp. 360–362, after some of the many which adorn that beautiful edition of the Roman Pontifical, printed A.D. 1520, by Giunta, and dedicated to the reigning pope, Leo X. [p. 93^{v}], we see that such was the fulness and width of the chasuble then worn at Rome, that the rubrics of the Roman liturgy could be, and were, truly and literally fulfilled.

The dimensions of two Italian cubits, or two feet ten inches and a half English, laid down by Gavanti for the breadth of the chasuble, rest upon that writer's individual taste and private opinion, not upon an act of any Council, nor decree promulgated

(334) While we mourn, along with some of the Church's best and most learned sons, over the

by authority; while the measurement of three cubits, or four feet four inches, set forth by St. Charles Borromeo in a provincial synod, was ratified by the formal approbation of the Roman see.

The chasubles now used in England are almost always as far short of Gavanti's measure for their breadth, as Gavanti's is of that ordered by St. Charles, yet there are some who in their zeal for what they assume, though wrongly, to be the rubric, would look upon a large chasuble with dislike, but would never take the slightest heed about the shortest and the narrowest one ever seen.

It is a curious fact, that the old Roman chasuble in which the body of Pope Boniface VIII. had been buried (A.D. 1303), and which was found quite perfect upon him when his grave was opened (A.D. 1605), is but two inches wider than the same kind of vestment when made in accordance with the measurement required by St. Charles Borromeo, almost full three hundred years after the reign of that supreme pontiff: Casula (writes an eye-witness), casula sive planeta lata, ut antiqui utebantur, ante et retro palmorum VI. et quarti unius . . . limbus casulæ paulum ultra manus veniebat (*Grimaldus*, in Dionysius, *Vaticanæ Basil. Crypt. Monum.*, p. 129). As the Roman palm is equal to nine inches English measure, Pope Boniface's chasuble is a trifle more than four feet and a half in breadth, and therefore, as Grimaldi says, easily stretched itself a little beyond the hands.

spoiling of (335) this chiefest garment of her sanctuary,[10] let us hope that her prelates, especially those in this kingdom, (336) with the zeal for God's house and the fondness for its ancient loveliness shown by a St. Charles, may (337) quickly

[9] Sacrarum vestium ea forma servetur quam Patrum institutio et Cathedralis ecclesiæ veneranda præscribit antiquitas, videlicet ut casulæ seu planetæ in tantam hinc inde amplitudinem extendantur, ut brachia tota saltem obtegant; ideoque ex commoda et placabili materia fiant, ut facile per fimbrias levari possint, nec celebrantem impediant.—*Rituale Rothomagense*, i. 386.

[10] Many who have been eminent for their warm-hearted love towards religion, and for the learning and readiness with which they upheld it in their day, have loudly bewailed the change in the shape of the chasuble.

One of the strongest, most learned, and untiring writers of the sixteenth century, who withstood the heresies of Luther and Calvin, William Lindanus, in speaking of the chasuble's dwindlings, which then were but slight to what they have now become, shows by his words how deeply he regretted the change perpetrated upon this venerable vestment: Nam nostræ ætatis et superiorum aliquot paucorum seculorum casula, quam dicimus, vix est illius priscæ dimidium: tam enim nunc est accisa, decurtata, atque aliam prope in speciem deformata, ut si cum illa sua prisca, unde defluxit atque degeneravit componatur, vix suum tueatur nomen.—*Panopliæ Evang.*, iv. 342. (Parisiis, 1564.)

Saussay was not the least among that crowd of truly learned and illustrious liturgical writers whom France had the happiness of giving, during the seventeenth century, to the Catholic Church. But that distinguished Bishop of Toul is equally strong in expressing himself upon this subject: Vestem ipsam sacerdotalem deformarunt, ut non solum differat plurimum ab antiqua forma, verum prorsus deflexerunt a mystica ratione, cur ipsa suprema vestis cæteras omnes totumque ab humeris corpus sacerdotis circumtegeret. Esse siquidem planetam seu casulam signaculum charitatis quæ supereminet cæteris queisque virtutibus atque donis communis est priscorum et neotericorum interpretum Catholicæ Ecclesiæ rituum sententia. Aliquod igitur temperamentum (ut mihi quidem videtur salvo prudentiorum judicio) adhibendum esset, adeo ut nimio onere sacerdos non gravaretur, nec præpediretur a brachiorum, manuumque libero motu actuque, et tamen decoro consuleretur ne denudata prorsus brachia ab humeris ap-

do again what their fore-runners in the faith have done, and by seeing, as the sainted archbishop (338) of Milan did, that the chasuble be made once more according to its olden type, give back (339) to this vestment all its former dignity, its grandeur, its instructive symbolic meaning of oneness in belief, and of sacerdotal charity.

(340) In regard to the portion of God's holy Catholic Church here in England, there are reasons stronger still for wishing (341) a return among us to the forms of bygone times, in this as well as everything else connected

parerent, ipsaque casula suæ significationis rationem aliqua ex parte retineret.—Saussay, *Panoplia Sacerdotalis*, I. vi. 128.

Louder still does Bellotte raise his voice and cry out in these words: At salvo saniori judicio nedum rationi, sed et religioni consentaneum fuisset, ab illa priori casulæ forma minime recedere. Sacerdos enim in sacrificio Christi ut gerit vices, mortisque memoriam celebrat, sic et passionis speciem, tam actu repræsentare debet quam habitu, &c.—*Ritus Ecc. Lavdunensis, Observ.* p. 343.

The two brothers Magri, whose valuable and handy work is by no means as well known as it ought to be in England, thus say of the chasuble and its clippings: Itaque paulatim loco revolvendi illam, recisa lateraliter fuit, ut non amplius casulæ, sed monachalis scapularis formam præseferat. In hoc tamen sunt commendandi Græci, in sustentando ejus antiquam formam, de quibus Vespasianus Florentinus, in vitâ Juliani Cardinalis Cæsarini, de Concilio Florentino loquens, sic ait. Non ponerò qui una lode grandissima de' Greci, che mai non hanno mutato abiti, cosi i temporali, come i spirituali, sono passati anni mille e più. Præterquam quod antiquæ casulæ figura majestatem et mysteria non pauca continebat. . . . Item unitatem Ecclesiæ, vestemque Christi inconsutilem denotat quæ tamen hodie recisa hos significatus retinere nequit (Magri, *Hierolexicon* in verbo *Casula*, p. 126. Venetiis, 1735). This is the best edition, and has wood-cuts: there is an Italian translation.

But a thing worthy of remark is, that among all the writers who have thought fit to speak of the chasuble and its curtailments, there cannot be found one who approves of its present mutilations, or sees beauty in its dwindled size: men of the mildest mood can utter no softer words than "deformed" and "degenerated," wherewith to express their ideas on the subject.

with the architecture and adornment of our churches, and the other outward marks of our sublime worship. Thanks to the ever-watching care of Heaven, whether our priests offer up the holy mysteries, vested in the ugliest, stiffest, shortest chasuble ever seen, at the poorest altar, within the meanest, barn-like building—that sacrifice is the very same; the faith which they hold and teach is exactly identical, neither more nor less, with that held and preached by the Apostles themselves; by Lucius and his Catholic Britons, and their teacher, Pope St. Eleutherius; by Ethelberht and his Catholic Anglo-Saxons, and their teachers, Pope St. Gregory, and the monk St. Austin, and by those who, in the later days of good old Catholic England, sang Mass in chasubles of fullest dimensions, and sparkling with jewels, beneath the lofty groined roof of the glorious St. Peter's of London—Westminster Abbey; or the still more glorious St. Peter's of England—York Cathedral.

Yet born, as we Catholics are, within the portion of Christ's Church lying in England, and having to stand up daily, hourly, for the olden belief against an array of modern heresies never united but when attacking us, we must fight the good fight of God and His truth as best we may—with no other weapons, however, but those which charity and kindness have hallowed. Now, as he is the (342) ablest general, who, in warfare, knows how to turn to most account every accidental feature of the ground upon which he finds himself thrown, so ought we to learn and make, in upholding our holy religion, the best use we can of those circumstances of a local nature which we see about us—and, happily, they are not a few. Scarcely a single parish throughout this land, but what holds an old church built by Catholic hands for Catholic worship; many of our towns can boast of a fine old minster, and each of our cities has its old cathedral: parish church, minster, cathedral, are so many Catholic

creeds cut in stone. The rustic beholds with feelings of love the weather-stained walls of his old village church; the better educated gaze with respect upon every holy pile, and are now beginning to look, with searching eye, upon the tombs, the grave-brasses, the stained-glass windows, which abound, more or less, in them all,—in the small parish church, as well as in the large cathedral. But if those of our countrymen who live separated from us in religious belief, manifest such a love for, and search out with so much ardour, those venerable monuments of Catholic antiquity, how much more ought we, who happily inherit the olden faith whole and unbroken, the olden liturgy, the olden practices, and exclusively retain the apostolic succession of Catholic England, to show a deep warm feeling for those glorious title-deeds and vouchers of the antiquity and unchangeableness of our heavenly faith; how much more alive should we be to the importance of laying hold on the clearest and most popular arguments in its favour. What though our creed be Catholic, and, like the sunlight, shining not on one country in particular, but spread throughout the earth, still our arguments to defend it may, and should be placed as we are, English. Building our new churches strictly after the old English model, we shall give speech to the stones of which they, as well as (343) the old ones, are erected, and by making both thus talk with one and the same tongue, cause them to yield a weighty testimony in our behalf. Being modelled upon exactly the same plan, and exhibiting, even to the smallest particular, all the accessories of an old church, not only each architectural requirement needed by our venerable liturgy for a becoming celebration of its rites will be duly provided for, but the thoughtful Protestant may be enabled to see, in our ritual, a striking and an easy commentary on the distribution of our native churches. The way in which he will

behold us employing all the various parts of the sacred edifice, will show him the uses to which they were put during former days; and, as he thus learns why they were anciently erected, the meaning of them, hitherto a puzzle, must immediately unfold itself. He will perceive that our Catholic liturgy would be quite at home in any old church: in fact, the old church must have been originally designed for the Catholic liturgy, while the services of the Protestant Establishment do not fit it, nor it them—both are strangers, and can never be brought to suit each other. Thus, in fine, will the reflecting Protestant be led to acknowledge that his Book of Common Prayer is a something unknown to the builders of our old English churches —new to England, and further shown to be such from the way in which late Protestant edifices, erected for its use, have been distributed upon a new plan, to meet its modern wants.

So, too, with the vestments. Getting back once more our old English majestic chasuble, with its beautiful symbolism, the appareled alb, the full, flowing surplice, we may make them the means of showing our separated countrymen that we offer up sacrifice now, clothed in the same shaped vestments as of old each parish priest wore throughout this island, at Mass, —from the days of the British (344) prince, Lucius, to those of the English queen, Elizabeth. For the truth of this we may confidently appeal to all our national written documents; to our old tombs, our grave-brasses, our stained-glass windows, our illuminated manuscripts. By doing thus, we shall be lending no small aid towards bringing back crowds of our soul-strayed, but earnest countrymen, to the one true fold of Christ. What is happening at present will also happen in other times. Now among the outward things which, at this moment, are found to yield such strong help in leading a great many Protestants to

see and acknowledge the oneness of Catholic belief, by showing them that the Catholics of England, in the nineteenth century, worship as their Catholic forefathers did in the ninth and every preceding one—not only the architecture of our churches, but the shape of our vestments, holds a forward place.

While studying for the priesthood at the English College in Rome, with an opportunity of every day looking upon the monuments of sacred art, reaching upwards from the birth of Christianity to the present moment, often did I behold the truths and the holy practices of our divine belief, set forth in the brightest point of view by the light which, seeming stronger from its farness off, was shed upon them by those venerable monuments. Judging that these Christian remains would work upon others' minds the instructive and pleasing effects they had wrought upon my own, I strove, on coming home, to call attention to them by publishing the *Hierurgia*.

Afterwards I soon found existing in England, another, but not less fruitful, field of ecclesiastical antiquities, over which I had hardly begun to wander, when it struck me that we Catholics—the Clergy more in particular—were sadly at fault in not putting to better account those many title-deeds of faith bequeathed us by the churchmen of (345) Catholic England. It seemed to me, that while we spoke to our countrymen through their ears, preaching the Catholic belief in English words; while we sought to instruct them, writing books in the English tongue—before we could do the good work thoroughly well, we must try and talk to them through their eyes—by signs, as if they were deaf in a spiritual sense: by those symbols, in fact, which English architecture and her sister-arts so readily furnish; that we ought to make even the wayfarer, as he passed by a Catholic church, see, if he would not step in and hear, Catholic belief; and

have put before him, as he cast his eye upon the material building, some, at least, of the many English proofs which show the oldness of its growth in this land: to allow, in fine, every one who went in to behold, by the distribution and adornments done after our old English manner, a kind of national catechism, which the poor as well as the rich, the bookless clown as well as the learned squire, might be able to read and understand all alike—setting, at one view, Catholic truths in native English characters before Protestant minds, and awakening Catholics themselves to the thought of living up to the ancient perfection of their venerable belief, besides remembering its ancient practices in this country.

It is impossible not to see that those men, who, for the sake of scrambling for her wealth and lands, strove and upset the ancient religion of this country, under the lustful Henry, the child Edward, and the wanton Elizabeth, knew full well how deeply, through the material aid of architecture, sculpture, and painting, vestments, lights, processions, and other ritual accessories, the old belief had rooted itself within the hearts of the English people; and was likely, if allowed to have their support, to live there, and keep the nation from falling away from its teaching. To withdraw, therefore, the then existing generation from the (346) fast hold which the Catholic religion had upon it, and to hinder the rising ones knowing but as little as might be of their fathers' worship, those innovators set themselves to the unhallowing work. The crucifix was hewed down from the rood-loft, and burned; the statues of Christ's virgin Mother, and of the saints, were dragged to the ground from their canopied tabernacles, or beheaded and hacked by the hammer; the altar, because a place for sacrifice, was overthrown, and its stone hurled upon the floor to be trodden on; the fine old chasuble, reminding the people too much of

their beloved Mass, was cut up, or sold for household furniture: processional banners and altar canopies were pulled away; the paintings all about the walls—the poor man's book—were scraped off, or white-washed; the stained-glass window was smashed; brasses were wrenched from their gravestones, because they begged a prayer for the dead beneath them; and the wayside and the churchyard cross was broken down to an unmeaning stump. Satan tried his best to scratch out of this land every mark, every symbol of Christ crucified; but, thanks to the kindness of Heaven, in vain; the marks were too deep, the emblems too many, for the dragon's clutches.

This more than implied acknowledgment, made by such historical facts, of the power which outward things have of teaching the people, and keeping alive among them the truths of religion, quickened my wishes to see brought back among us the method followed in Catholic England, as well as in other parts of the church, of instruction afforded through the help of the accessories for our public worship, such as the architecture and distribution of our churches, their adornments, and, not the least, our vestments. But, as Englishmen were to be instructed, the types to be chosen, though strictly Catholic, should be strictly English, old, canonical.

(347) But very much was to be done; our old native writers, and ecclesiastical records, had to be read for that specific purpose; our illuminated manuscripts in public libraries, or private hands, had to be looked into; our old churches, great and small, had to be examined; —all these had to be compared with one another; for unless written be studied along with monumental, artistic documents, neither can be understood well. Let it be kept in mind that, even so late as fifteen years ago (and this is A.D. 1848), but very little was known by any Catholic archæological student—still

less by Protestant ones—of the many accessories of even a parish church as it was arranged in this country during Catholic times, of the manner in which things were done, and of the appearance which a church had, inside and out, upon some high and solemn holy day: even now there are very very few thoroughly acquainted with such matters.

Having had opportunities of visiting the remains of almost every heathen temple in Italy and Greece, and of examining the finest modern churches erected in the classic style of architecture;—when I compared both the one and the other with the Gothic glories of my own England, and with those which I had seen of France, Germany, Spain, and Italy, the impression left upon my mind was, that not the pagan, but the pointed style was the best for a Christian church. All the members and ornaments of the Grecian and Roman orders betray their gentile birth, and speak loudly of heathenism and its foolish fables; but in a Gothic-built church each part, division, smallest accessory, is the offspring of a Christian head, and was brought into life to express some Christian thought, and to have a Christian meaning —to tell of Christ and of his saints.

With such a conviction, when and wheresoever I thought my voice might be heard, I raised it in behalf of employing Christian in preference to pagan architecture; of always (348) choosing too an English, never a foreign model of the pointed style for the building of our churches. I alleged that being in England, and having to do with Englishmen, we ought, amongst other ways, to teach them by English buildings, old and new, what is and has ever unceasingly been the true Catholic belief.

Very soon I met with those whose feelings on the subject were near akin to my own; yet at first there arose a few friendly differences between us. Some had to be disabused of the erroneous idea that four walls

and a roof, no galleries, a door and windows in the pointed style, were quite enough to make the building a Gothic church; the southern porch, so needed by many of our rubrics, was thought by one an eyesore; by another, towers and spires, though land-marks to the house of God and emblems of spiritual authority, were deemed worthless expense; the chancel-screen, with its rood-loft and rood, was at first objected to, because it seemed to hinder a full view of the altar; diapering was tried to be laughed down, and late perpendicular pronounced to be the best style of pointed architecture for churches. But these and several other objections slowly melted away; and I have by me now a letter from one of my architectural friends, in which he makes a full act of sorrow, acknowledging his artistic sins, accompanied by a strong purpose of future amendment.

Long had I been searching after old English vestments; and first with regard to the surplice, I strove in vain to find any one existing specimen. The "twenty yards of fine linen to make a surplice," mentioned in old wills as a bequest to an English parish church in Catholic times, and the figure itself of that garment often seen in our venerable ecclesiastical monuments, showed that it must have been very full, reaching almost to the feet, and had wide sleeves. Following such hints, I got a surplice made in the old (349) English form, a pattern of which I lent, some time after, to Mr. Pugin, by whose zeal in the good cause it was brought into use at Oscott College, St. Chad's Church, Birmingham, and many other places. As I wished to lend this pattern about, I had it made up of worn-out church-linen, and among the rest, of a piece of what was once the covering for an altar, and marked in blue thread with the letters I.H.S. surmounted by a cross, but from age and often washing, the marking had become so faint as to escape my eye.

The good sempstress into whose hands this pattern first fell, after it left me, having a quick sight, and finding I.H.S. with a cross worked in the middle of the hind part of it, concluded that these letters were to be copied too, and therefore marked, in the same way, all the surplices which she had to make. Hearing of this, and remonstrating that there was no instance of such a thing, either ancient or modern, I learned, to my no small wonderment, that it had been done at my own suggestion. Such a supposition was quite a mistake. Since that time, which is now some years ago, I have seen many other monuments in our old churches, in which the ancient surplice is figured. The tomb most worthy of a visit for this purpose is the priestly stone cumbent figure of that prince-like merchant William Canynges, who, at his wife's death, made himself a priest, and lies buried in the magnificent church of his own building, St. Mary Redcliffe's, Bristol. From Canynges's and other monuments, I found that there was no slit in front at the upper part towards the neck of the old English Catholic surplice, and that the sleeves were even fuller than I had at first imagined, as may be seen in the wood-cut of Canynges given hereafter (in vol. ii.). By adopting these improvements the shape of the surplice became perfect, being more graceful and sitting better on the person, fulfilling (350) moreover all the requirements as to make and dimensions laid down by St. Charles Borromeo and Gavanti.

But the great object was to give back again to the chasuble its fine, old, easy-folding, emblematic fulness. Then I had not heard of the Mawley vestment, and therefore had to look abroad for an example. In Belgium there are several old chasubles, but all of them which I have seen have been sadly cut away, and that, too, not long ago. The two figured by the Bollandists in the *Propylæum* have undergone the same hard lot.

But in the treasury of the cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle there is a fine, whole, uncut chasuble, which I take to be of the fourteenth century. During a short trip I took during 1838, in search of ecclesiastical antiquities, in Belgium and the borders of the Rhine, I was so fortunate as to be allowed to examine that chasuble at my leisure in the most minute way, and even to put it on. When I reached England, I had an exact pattern made of the same coloured silk—purple—and ornamented in precisely the same manner with an orphrey of pearls, mine being mock ones manufactured at Rome. To match this chasuble, I got the cuff and lower apparels for an alb, and the apparel for the amice, wrought with white silk upon a purple ground, copying the design of those like ornaments shown upon the grave-brass of Waldeby, Archbishop of York, in Westminster Abbey [p. 288]; and thus vested in the wide chasuble and appareled alb and amice, the first since the change of religion in England, I said Mass whenever purple was the colour for the service of the day. This, however, I did not presume to do until Bishop Walsh (for I was then performing missionary duties at Alton Towers, in the Midland district) had graciously afforded his sanction to the bringing back of the vestments to their ancient form. At the end of the spring following, my (351) talented friend, Mr. Pugin, who had always entered heart and soul into all my suggestions, lamented to me that the chasubles, which in the meanwhile he had had made in the old shape from his own idea, did not fit well, especially about the shoulders, and on seeing mine and its fellow alb and amice, asked, and immediately had from me, the loan of all three vestments, which he took with him to Birmingham. In a short time afterwards, the chasuble, in its graceful, true old form, and appareled albs and amices, were spread throughout the Midland district, and a little later, I succeeded, on the authority of the beautiful

Robert de Waldeby, Archbishop of York (1397–1398).

brass at Wensley and other grave-brasses, to restore to the alb a still further old English ornament—consisting of a becoming border worked in red braid all around the hem and sleeve-cuffs of that linen garment.

Catholic arts in general have taken a long stride; Catholic architecture in particular has within these last few years wrought wonders in this country. Let it not, however, be dreamt that the good work is all accomplished: we have only begun, not ended the great and glorious task; and much, very much, is still left to be done. With regard to architecture, no one of the many churches hitherto built since the new epoch can be pointed to as a faultless specimen of what such an erection should be, either in the arrangement of its parts, its internal ornament, or choice of situation. Without clerestory windows, no nave can have enough of light. Not merely for its own fitness and beauty, but for keeping the church warmer in winter and cool in summer, the vaulted roof is to be preferred; and yet very very few of our new churches have clerestory windows; not one is groined and vaulted, even in wood, though so many fine examples of such a material may be found in the large and small old churches of this kingdom—for instance, at York Minster, until the last fire; at Winchester, (352) St. Alban's, Warmington, Selby, besides others. Some of our lately erected open roofs took the same quantity of timber, and cost quite as much as they would, had they been vaulted, groined, and ribbed in oak. The walls of our old churches were storied all about with subjects out of holy writ, and the saints' lives, painted, not in fresco, but in secco, and had "scriptures," that is, inscriptions,* written

* To the clergy it especially belongs to see beforehand, not only that all inscriptions about to be put up anywhere in their churches are appropriate, but also verbally correct. Unfortunately this has been overlooked; hence, of the Latin inscriptions

under and about them. Diapering, now become the principal, was then nothing but an accessory ornament, and sparingly employed. Happily we have, belonging to our body, artists who could, and would, be glad to be called forth to warm the dead dumb walls of our churches into pictorial life, and make them glow with the ever-speaking history of our holy belief. Who, blessed with this world's wealth, will be the first to give the word, and earn for himself such a glory?

But while thus embellishing the house of the Most High, those to whom is entrusted the doing of it, should be warned not to follow the very first example of mediæval antiquity they chance to meet with, by a slavish and Chinese-like imitation of all its parts.

In their designs of the human figure for stained-glass, (353) paintings, sculptures, crucifixes, and other church appliances, those who make the drawings almost always fall into a deep mistake, through the want of good taste, a sound judgment, and a true knowledge of the matter. Wishing with right warm-heartedness and praiseworthy zeal to bring back again feelings for that lovely, graceful, dignified, and thoroughly ecclesiastical style which is to be seen in the church adornments of the middle ages, they do not give themselves time to think upon the question, nor do they take the trouble to look about them for the best models for their subject, but snatch at the very first they can put their hands upon. Caught by the beauties which some of its members happen to display, they quite overlook, if they do not strive to admire, all the

from architects' pens, and to be read upon stained-glass windows, within diapering, under paintings, on bells, &c., one out of almost every two contains either a faulty reading, or bad grammar. We find, for example: "Ecce agnus Dei qui tollis," instead of "tollit"; and such blunders as "Sancte Egidie," "Sancte Georgii, ora pro nobis," for "Egidi" and "Georgi."

accompanying ugliness of the rest. No wonder, then, that often we have set before us the figure of a saint whose face is prayerful, meek, resigned, beautiful as a seraph's comeliness can render it, and brightened with a gleam from heaven; whose graceful person, standing in an easy posture, is draped in all the majesty which flowing, well-turned folds can lend it; but from beneath which, unfortunately, is creeping out a large, monster-looking, splay foot, which strives in unsightliness with a pair of long, lean, grisly hands, the thin lank fingers of which could have never bent themselves, for they are not articulated. This is not the worst. The figures on some of the modern crucifixes are quite frightful—much more likely to shock, than foster, devotional thoughts in the heart of him who beholds them, and who must deem such grim anatomies most unhallowing to the holy, the high, the divine object which they are meant to bring to our remembrance. To be mediæval, a painting, or a piece of sculpture, need not be laden with blemishes, lowering it to a caricature, and making pious things look ghastly, revolting, ludicrous.

(354) As far as they knew how, our old Catholic masters sought to render their figures as becoming in all their parts, as full of comeliness, as beautiful and heavenly as they could. Some of them, as it always has, and will be, have succeeded far better than others in such artistic wishes. During every age of the mediæval period, among its painters and its sculptors, some there were always to be found, exactly as in these our days, very good—learned in all the mysteries of their art, able to overcome its difficulties, most ready with the brush or chisel; others, bad, awkward, ignorant, vulgar, clumsy. In a restoration, then, of that style of religious art peculiar to the middle ages, and so truly Christian in its feelings, an artist should not content himself with any kind

of specimen of those times which chance may throw in his way; but he must seek after the good—nay, the very best—samples, which are ever to be found if people know whither to go and look for them. All about our dear old Catholic-built cathedrals and collegiate churches, notwithstanding many a William Dowsing has gone through them with his smashing hammer and his pail of whitewash, there are even now to be seen sculptures and paintings that would bear a comparison with the choicest works of modern genius; and we have in our manuscripts, limned by Englishmen, illuminations which Raffaelle would have felt glad to have designed, and Giulio Clovio been proud of having coloured. We may doubt whether there be now in Europe an artist who could go beyond, if he could even come up to, the easy freedom of outline, the gracefulness of figure, the beauty of countenance, shown in the illuminations of the small but precious manuscript of St. Cuthbert's life, belonging to Sir William Lawson, Bart., or in those of that glorious codex, the so-called Queen Mary's Psalter, at the British Museum, among the manuscripts of the Royal Library, and marked 2 B VII.

(355) The heathen Greeks chose τὸ κάλον καὶ τὸ πρέπον—the beautiful and the becoming—as their canon in the fine arts, all of which they ever rendered the handmaids of their foolish religion. Resolving not to be outdone by those of paganism, let our artists give their talents for the upholding of the one, pure, holy, unerring, sanctifying belief taught us through His Church, His only spouse, by Jesus Christ; let them take, as their motto, "*the beautiful, the true, the holy;*" and, if they work out the principles contained in their watchword, in copying all the Christian loveliness, they will avoid the artistical deformities of the mediæval masters; and, while they work in beautifying God's house, and make the window and the wall

speak silent instruction to the unlettered hind as well as the scholar, they will be lighting up our churches with the sunshine of the Gospel, and teaching men how they should believe, and do, in this life; what to look and hope for in the life to come —in heaven.

Few, if any, of our architects have shown a feeling for the beautiful, the appropriate, the picturesque, in the selection (when its choice has been left entirely to them) of the ground whereon to raise a church. Situated as we Catholics are in England, it is not any spot whatever which should be bought for our ecclesiastical structures. In very large places, as it must be somewhere or other within the town, the nearer the church is brought to the neighbourhood of our people, the better: not so in little country-towns and villages; —there, every church should be, as much as possible, so placed as to stand, not indeed out of, yet so far away from, this stirring world, as to have all about it a still, soothing, noiseless atmosphere of its own, just far enough removed from the town and village to lie beyond the reach of household smells and sounds, the loud laugh, the scream, the song, the squabble, the shrill chidings (356) of the angered mother, the squalling of children, the stench and squeakings from the reeking pig-sty. What so unhallowing to the thoughts, as, perhaps at the stillest part of the Holy Sacrifice, to have such very earthly clamours falling on the ear? what so unfitting the solemnity of soul during a procession, or at a burial service? But this is not the worst of having a church too near the houses of a small town. Sometimes a bitter enemy of our creed may live opposite, and will sit at the window to watch those who go in to our services, or pay visits to our priests for religious instruction; and if a Protestant, of whatsoever denomination, is seen, or thought to do so, immediately violent and mendacious tracts against the

Catholic Church are sent, underhand, to him, and every step is taken to poison the neophyte's mind, and to withdraw him and his away from our religion. Of this I know more instances than one. For these, among other reasons, we should choose the site of every new country-mission some little way out of the town. In such situations the land is, in general, cheaper: there are no obstacles to hinder the church from being placed due east and west; and the ground about it may be so laid out, that, while the incumbent and his flock, by keeping within private property, break no law, they may follow the rubrics of the church, and walk in procession at the different solemnities of the ritual.

Whilst then we strive, before all things, to worship God in spirit, let us not overlook the fact that the human soul may—nay, must, by the very nature of its existence here within a body—get all its knowledge through some one or other of its corporeal senses: architecture, vestments, and everything else used in our outward adoration of the Almighty, may be made to yield no small help to the holy cause of truth. Our separated countrymen will be reminded (357) that, though an Act of Parliament may have taken from us Catholics the material walls of this kingdom's fine old churches, and the broad lands, and the rich endowments, freely bestowed upon them by private individuals, for purposes exclusively Catholic; though an Act of Parliament has put another set of men, teaching another belief, as successors to the inheritance of what worldly property was left by the spoiler's hand—it could go no further, it could do nothing more. The sword of state was blunt for all spiritual purposes; though wielded by the craftiest and the boldest layman's arm, it has not, because it could not, cut our Catholic priests off from being the successors—the true, the only successors—to the priests and bishops

of the old English church, in all that regards doctrine, and the spiritual, canonical, apostolic right of teaching the Christian belief to the people of this country.

But let us get back to

The Anglo-Saxon Chasuble,

and its curious and richly embroidered

Ornament called the "Flower."

The most beautiful and rarest stuffs were sought after to make this vestment;[11] and often was it

[11] One of the earliest notices of Anglo-Saxon vestments is to be found in the Irish St. Livin's life, written about A.D. 656, by Boniface, the saint's contemporary: Ei (S. Livino) casulam purpuream auro gemmisque composite ornatam, et stolam cum orario gemmis pretiosis auroque fulgido pertextam in ipso die ordinationis suæ pro fœdere æternæ charitatis pius magister (S. Augustinus Cantuariensis) dilecto suo discipulo devoto amore contradidit. —*Vita S. Livini auct.* Bonifacio *coævo*, in Mabillon, *AA. SS. B.* ii. 436.

Very likely the chasuble, decked with gold and pearls, and the beautiful cope, given by Matilda, our first William's queen, to the church of St. Evroul in Normandy, were of Anglo-Saxon make: Casulam auro et margaritis comptam et elegantem cappam cantoris sancto Ebrulfo dedit (Mathildis regina) (Ordericus Vitalis, *Ecc. Hist.*, vi. 4) [*P.L.* clxxxviii. 460]. It was no uncommon practice for Norman monks to come over here and beg, at this period, for vestments; and from one of these instances we learn that a rich chasuble, at the end of the eleventh century, cost as much as ten pounds of silver in English money,—an enormous sum in those days: A regia munificentia pretiosam ecclesiæ suæ planetam quam usitatius casula vocatur, vel si in promptu forte non haberetur, pretium largiri quo compararetur, petens instabat (abbas monasterii quod Flagi dicitur). . . . Decem argenti libras Anglicanæ monetæ . . . ad hoc opus exigi mandavit (Willielmus rex). *Hist. Fundationis Monast. de Bello*, p. 44 (Londini, 1846). One, if not both the under-mentioned chasubles were Anglo-Saxon, and as rich

(358) ornamented in a way which has for some hundreds of years ceased to be generally followed. This (359) peculiar adornment, or "flower,"[12] as they

as beautiful: Casula Wulfrani de Indico sameto, bona et preciosa, cum pectorali et imaginibus Petri et Pauli de fino auro, et humerali vineato de fino auro breudato, et lapidibus insertis, et extremitate talari consimili (*Visit. in Thes. S. Pauli Londin.* A.D. 1295, in Dugdale, *Hist. St. Paul's*, p. 322). Casula quæ fuit S. Elphegi de sameto croceo, cum dorsali pulchro de aurifrigio, lapidibus insertis.—*Ibid.*, 323.

[12] In the British Museum, among the Cotton manuscripts, there is an Anglo-Saxon one (*Claudius, A.* iii.), in an illumination of which (fol. 8) may be seen the figure given opposite of St. Dunstan vested as an archbishop, and having in conformity with the account of a miracle related in his life (*AA. SS. Maii*, iv. 364), a dove hovering by him. All about the shoulders and breast, the saint's chasuble, as our wood-cut shows, is wrought with this same kind of rich pattern, done, not in gold, but in red needlework, and edged at bottom by a red fringe. Until a few years ago, some such ornament, with the addition in front of two little hanging appendages, very short and like the unexpanding ends of the old narrow stole, was worn in France by the Bishop of Toul; an engraving of this, given by De Vert in his *Explication des Cérémonies de l'Église*, ii. 164, is here reproduced; and its description, extracted from the "Ceremoniale" of that Cathedral by Benoit, may be read in his *Histoire de Toul*, p. 168. In this modern instance this ornament was quite distinct from the chasuble, and put on over it: Super humeros ponitur post casulam (*ibid.*). The Bishop of Eichstadt, in Bavaria, if he do not now, did, until very lately, wear on solemn occasions this same kind of ornament.

Among the many beautiful Anglo-Saxon vestments taken by that royal robber, the first Norman William, from Ely Minster, were: VIII casulas, una illarum brusdata, alia alba cum aurifriso in

From an English Pontifical (Claudius A. iii.).

called it, consisted of a mass of rich golden needle-work, (360) which spread itself in broad thick branches, sometimes before, all over the breast, and always behind, upon the higher part of the back and about the shoulders of the chasuble, while all around its neck (361) ran a broad band of gold studded with jewels. From the strain in which our old writers speak of this kind of ornament, it seems to have been looked upon by the people with particular complacency; and it is well

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antea et flore, alia rubea similiter, alia purpurea cum aurifriso in antea et per girum cum pluribus floribus: alia rubea de qua abbas Tedwinus sumpsit aurifrisum quod in antea erat; alia de qua sumpsit florem (*MS. Cotton, Titus A.* 1, fol. 24, b. in the British Museum). From this valuable list of Anglo-Saxon church ornaments, we not only perceive the peculiar partiality in which this kind of embroidery upon the higher part of the chasuble was held, but we likewise learn that it was called the "flower." But besides being embroidered, this "flower" was one mass of costly gems and precious stones. Leoffine, abbot of Ely in the reign of King Cnut, bestowed upon his church: Albam præclaram cum amicto et cum superale cum stola et manipulo ex auro et lapidibus contextis, atque infulam rubeam mirando opere subtus et desuper floribus retro extensam, et velut quodam tabulatu gemmis et auro ante munitam (Thomas Eliensis, *Hist. Elien.* in *Anglia Sacra*, i. 608). But however splendid this chasuble of Leoffine's might be, it was far outdone by another: Stigandus fecit unam casulam inæstimabilis facturæ et pretii, quam contulit ecclesiæ Elyensi; qua nulla in regno ditior atque pretiosior æstimabatur; quæ postea a rege Willelmo est sublata, et in thesauris Wynton. reposita (*ibid.* 609). Well could this royal robber William afford to make presents of rich vestments to the churches of Normandy, when he stole them so unscrupulously from Anglo-Saxon monasteries: from Waltham Abbey alone he carried away ten most splendid chasubles: Transtulit idem rex (Willielmus) de Waltham in Normanniam . . . . . quinque vestimenta sacerdotalia preciosissima, auro gemmisque ornata; quinque casulas auro gemmisque ornatas.—*Vita et Mirac. Haroldi*, Harleian MS. 3776.

shown in the foregoing picture of St. Dunstan;[13]

likewise in the figure of a bishop, among the illuminations of an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical (p. 299) at Rouen; as well as by the chasuble on the prelate[14] whom we lately saw bestowing his solemn blessing, and copied from St. Æthelwold's Benedictional. By several old monuments, the "flower" would seem to have been kept in use for a long while after the times of St. Osmund, not among only (362) ourselves, but in many other parts of Christendom, as may be observed from the Sens chasuble, given at p. 264, and the stone figure in Exeter Cathedral of Bishop Simon, which the reader sees here.

If the Anglo-Saxon chasuble was rich and sparkling with gems, it was shorn of none of its

[13] MS. Cotton, *Claudius A.* iii. f. 8.

[14] See p. 152 of this volume.

From the ALET PONTIFICAL.
In *Archæologia*, XXV. pl. xxix.

brightness in after times: the English bishop, with a zeal as warm as his Anglo-Saxon forerunners', sought out silks of the choicest looms and softest tints, and bought the most costly cloth of gold, to make this sacrificial garment; no small share of his thoughts must have been spent on giving it comeliness; sometimes it was storied with needlework, representing passages from holy writ, or the saints' lives; at others, it was overspread with embroideries of intricate, yet elegant, design done in threads of gold; thin beaten plates of the same precious metal were hung upon its orphreys;[15] and before and behind, it was often sprinkled with pearls and glistening jewels.[16]

[15] The orphrey of a chasuble is a band which runs up behind and before through the middle of that vestment. The word comes from "aurifrigium"; and, as that term implies, this accessory was formed of some richer and more ornamented material than the vestment itself. There was no cross, properly so called, upon the old English chasuble; but at the breast sprang out, in the shape of the forked part of a large Y, two other bands which went over the shoulders, until, in the form of the same letter, they met again and sank into the band behind, thus ◊: as regards the front, this is well shown in our wood-cut of the Wensley grave-brass, p. 266. Pointed chasubles with such a kind of orphrey instead of a cross, were worn until lately in France, as we see by De Moléon's *Voyages Liturgiques:* Le célébrant prend la chasuble dont le bas est en point, et la croix prenant sur les épaules semble en former une pardevant.—*Ibid.*, p. 165.

From our old inventories, such as that of St. Paul's, London, of the year 1295, given by Dugdale, we find that the orphrey of the chasuble was often distinguished into three parts; that in the front being called the "pectoral," the other, behind, the "dorsal," and the two over the shoulders the "humerals."

In some of the new chasubles made in this country within the last few years, the orphrey on the back being formed like a cross, should have been left quite simple at the extremities; instead of

(363) But upon the English chasuble there was to be seen, more or less often, up to the fourteenth century, an appendage,

this, however, each of the four ends of the cross finishes either with a quatrefoil, or with a fleur-de-lis, a thing, in such a place on a chasuble, without the warrant of ancient example; and as ugly as it is new.

From old foreign monuments and illustrations, in which the front orphrey of the chasuble is often shown falling down some little below that vestment itself, it would seem that this embroidered ornament existed sometimes quite apart from the chasuble, and being put on after, was worn loose over it. Such an idea is countenanced by the following rubric in an "Ordo Missæ Pontificalis," from a Vatican manuscript of the end of the fourteenth century, given by Georgi in his *Liturgia Rom. Pont.*, iii. 558: Dominus Cardinalis plicat sibi (Pontifici) casulam bene et polite. Et nota, quod dum casula plicatur, et aptatur Domino nostro, unus de acolitis debet trahere aurifizium casulæ semper a parte anteriori, donec casula sit bene plicata, et aptata ante et retro. If shifting orphreys were ever employed in this manner in England, it must have been very seldom.

[16] From all that we can learn by the testimony of our native writers, the old English chasuble must have been as remarkable for the richness of its material, as it was for the beauty of its design, and the elegance of execution in its ornaments. Casulas quoque quinque (fecit Gaufridus abbas, A.D. 1119), quarum una tota auro . . . præter aurifrigium pretiosissimum, latum valde, subtus et ante, et retro, consimiliter, necnon et gemmis pretiosis et tassellis optimis est obducta, panno rutilante colore coruscante. . . . Aliæ autem duæ absque aurifrigio, sed tassellis æquipolentibus decorantur.—[*Gesta Abbatum Monast. S. Albani* (*R.S.* xxviii. i. 93)].

Dedit abbas Benedictus (*circa* A.D. 1184) sex casulas optimas: sextam de nigro panno principalem cum aureis arboribus ante et retro lapidibus pretiosis a summo usque deorsum plenam.—Swaphanus, *Cœnob. Burg. Hist.* in *Historiæ Anglic. Scriptores*, ed. Sparke, p. 100.

When Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, died (A.D. 1195), he had belonging to him: IX casulas, quarum prima de rubea samete nobiliter brudata cum laminis aureis et bisanciis et multis magnis perlis et lapidibus pretiosis, &c. (*Wills and Inventories, &c., of the Northern Counties*, i. 3) (Surtees Society). Among that magnificent store of church ornaments in St. Paul's Cathedral,

THE RATIONAL,[17]

as beautiful as becoming, which is never found (364) adorning the same Anglo-Saxon vesture.

London (A.D. 1295), we find: Casula de rubeo sameto, quæ fuit Fulconis episcopi, cui apponitur antiquum dorsale colærigeratum interlaqueatum de fino auro, cui inseruntur quatuor berilli, et tres circuli aymallati, et quatuor lapides sculpti, et quatuor alemandini, et in medio Agnus Paschalis (Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 322). Salisbury, too, was not behind our other great churches in the richness of its chasubles, for it had: Casula una . . . cum xi lapidibus a tergo, xxxiij lapid. in parte anteriori. . . . Item casula una que fuit Episcopi Osmundi, cum xxxiiij lapidibus.—Wordsworth, *Salisb. Cerem.*, 175.

Enamels seem to have been no uncommon ornament upon chasubles: A chasuble of red cloth of gold, with orphreys before and behind, set with pearls blue, white, and red, with plates of gold enamelled, wanting fifteen plates. —*Inventory of Lincoln Cathedral*, A.D. 1536 (Dugdale, *Mon.*, viii. 1281).

However rich our beautiful old English chasubles were rendered by their ornamental embroidery, the plates of gold and silver studded with pearls and precious stones, and the enamels sewed upon them,—though such a load of splendour may have at times made them feel, to the weakly and the old, somewhat heavy, still we do not know that they were ever found so inconvenient in their weight as to be requisite to exchange them, at the Offertory, for lighter vestments, which we are told by Bishop Conrad, in the twelfth century, was the case, in respect to one, at least, among the several gorgeous chasubles then belonging to the cathedral of Mentz: Una inter cæteras erat casulas . . . quæ erat tanti ponderis propter aurum, ut plicari non posset, et in ipsa vix aliquis poterat nisi valde robustus, divina mysteria celebrare. Vestiebantur tamen illa pontifices et prælati festis præcipuis cantaturi. Sed post Evangelium, cantato Offertorio, factis oblationibus, illam deponentes, flexibiliorem sumentes, in illa divina perfecerunt.—Conrad, *Chron. Mogunt.* in *Germaniæ Hist.* ed. Urstinio, p. 567.

True indeed it is, that sometimes, under the plea that a chasuble felt too heavy to the wearer, it was broken up, and its rich texture thrown into the flames to get the gold out of it. Such was the lot which befell that gorgeous one described at the beginning of this note by Matthew Paris, who winds up his account of it by

Such was the ornament which may be sometimes met (365) with on our monuments, fastened high

telling us: Quæ (casula) postea ipso abbate defuncto, tempore Radulphi abbatis successoris ipsius, quorundam pusillanimorum cupidorum instinctu, igne concremata est, ut aurum quo nimis ut dicebant onerabatur eliquaretur (*Gesta, ut s.*). It seems, that sometimes the same chasuble was so made as to answer for two colours: its lining serving for one,—so that, in the change, it had to be turned inside out. Such was the practice at Canterbury: Casula duplicata de viridi et Indico sindone palliata intus et extra, &c. Casula duplicata et palliata extra de rubeo panno de tarse et intra de nigro panno serico de Tripe, &c. Casula duplicata et palliata extra de viridi panno de Tharse, et intra de rubeo sindone. —[*Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, p. 66.]

It is much to be regretted that not an uncut old English chasuble is known to exist. The fine old one which belongs to Sir Edward Blount, Bart., Mawley, though still more than a yard (3 feet 3 inches) in width, *has* felt the scissors, and been much wider. That ancient family possessed two such precious vestments until very lately, when, sad to tell, an individual who ought to have known better, forgetful how wrong it was to touch in such a manner what was not his own, but another's—heedless, too, of that regard which was owing to an English vestment which had come safely through all the perils and mishaps that might have befallen it for almost three hundred years of persecution—without speaking to the patron of the chapel, but from a whim of his own, and with his own hand, cut one of those truly venerable chasubles into the narrow modern shape. Words much stronger than any uttered here, would not be too harsh for chiding conduct which, for several reasons, was so unwarrantable and blameworthy.

[17] Honorius of Autun (A.D. 1130) thus speaks of this rare ornament: Rationale a lege est sumptum, quod ex auro, iacinto, purpura unius palmi mensura erat factum, huic doctrina et veritas, ac duodecim preciosi lapides contexti, nominaque filiorum Israel insculpta erant, et hoc pontifex in pectore ob recordationem populi portabat, hoc in nostris vestibus præfert per ornatum qui auro et gemmis summis casulis inpectore affigitur.—*Gemmæ Animæ*, i. 213 [Hittorp, p. 1234].

Quite as, if not more, interesting, at least to us, is the notice of this ornament by an Englishman, John Garland, who took no low place among the writers of the thirteenth century. Having to speak of the priestly vestments, our countryman says: His presbiteri ornantur ornamentis superpellicio, alba talari, et tyara,

upon the breast of a dignified priest, especially a bishop. (366) It is fashioned in all shapes, at one

phanula, et infula, cingtorio candidissimo: sed episcopus celebrat cum mitra et anulo, poderi, et rationali, et humerali, qui sepissime gerit pedum deauratum.

Garland has fortunately written a gloss upon his work, from which we learn the more exact meaning of some of the above words:—

Tyara—idem est quod amictus sacerdotis.

Phanula—est id quod sacerdos (*gerit?*) in brachio, a "phanas," quod est appatens.

Infula—cheisible.

Poderis—vestis similis albæ.

Rationale—Hoc est ornamentum episcopale, et dicitur alio modo "logion," quod debet reponi in pectore episcopi ad modum laminæ aureæ in quo cernuntur duodecim lapides, et in illis xii. nomina prophetarum, et scripta erant in illa lamina aurea ita duo nomina "justicia et judicium."—*Dictionarius Johannis de Garlandia;* among other works of his contained in a manuscript marked 385, in the library of Caius College, Cambridge, fols. 147, 148.

For the handsome way in which I was kindly indulged with the loan of that precious manuscript, I am gratefully thankful to the members of that society, but in particular to its learned and obliging librarian, the Rev. J. J. Smith, M.A.

But Garland mentions this ornament of the "rational" in other parts of his writings; and, from the manner in which he refers to it, it is clear that it was, at that period, worn by all bishops when they were vested in their solemn array.

"Prælatos," says our countryman, "tales decet esse intra, qualem protendunt sanctum habitum extra, secundum illos versus qui sunt in mysteriis ecclesiæ:

> Alba notat mentes albas, et zona pudorem,
> Jus humerale notat, rationaleque sophiam.
>
> —*Commentarius Liber Johannis de Garlandia, ibid.* fol. 209.

Of the poem on the Mysteries of the Church, which Garland wrote, but has hitherto been unpublished, I have a transcript, which, with God's help, I hope soon to print.

The only rational of which I know in England is in my own possession. It is in gilt copper, mounted on wood, so as to make it very light. Its shape is a quatrefoil, in each foliation of which there is, in high relief, a bust of an apostle: in the middle sits an

time round, at another a trefoil or a quatrefoil, but more generally (367) an oblong square. Seldom was it wrought of any baser metal than beaten

angel, with the legend "Matheus." It seems to have been fastened to the chasuble by means of a long pin like a brooch. Its date is early in the thirteenth century; and it measures six inches in length, by just as many in breadth, and three-quarters of an inch in thickness. This stereotype of it I owe to the kindness of Mr. H. Parker, Oxford.

Somewhat like to this, in shape, is the rational on the breast of St. Cuthberht vested in a chasuble, shown in our wood-cut in the section of this chapter on the mitre.

gold or silver gilt, studded (368) with precious stones, and as it was worn in imitation, so it had given to it the name of the ancient (369) Jewish rational. An ornament borrowed from the Aaronic by the Christian priesthood will, no doubt, (370) interest the reader; and as it has hitherto escaped the notice of modern antiquarian and liturgical writers, not only in England, but abroad, he will not (371) be sorry to have put before him this wood-cut from a tomb in Worcester Cathedral of Bishop Giffard, who died A.D. 1301, and who is figured in a chasuble, having, pinned upon his breast, the rational, which may be seen in many other of our English sepulchral effigies and episcopal seals.

The custom of wearing the rational lasted, it would seem, longer on the Continent than here, and proofs of its use, even until a late period, may be traced in France[18] and the Low Countries.[19]

[18] From Marlot, in his history of Rheims, we learn until what a late period the archbishops of that see wore, on high festivals, this rational; and the same author has been able to afford us some curious details concerning the materials with which this ornament was made, and the way of putting it on. He says: Vetustior catalogus meminit etiam rationalis quo festis solemnioribus utebantur archiepiscopi, cum sacrum missæ sacrificium in pontificalibus celebrabant: "Est enim," inquit, "magnum et pretiosum rationale de panno aureo cum quatuor anulis et totidem agrappis de auro, in quo sunt duodecim lapides pretiosi diversorum colorum incussati in duodecim circulis aureis in quibus, sunt scripta nomina duodecim filiorum Israel, et pendet ipsum rationale cum una catena de auro circumdante humeros prælati in cujus catenæ duobus lateribus nitent admodum pulchri duo lapides, dicti Camayeaux, incussati in auro, et a parte posteriori unus sat crassus cintallus."

"Item aliud rationale parvum de auro cum catena aurea, in cujus

GODFREY GIFFARD
BISHOP OF WORCESTER (1268-1301)

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(372) SECTION II

The Dalmatic,[20]

together with a fair white linen garment called an (373) alb,[21] was the distinguishing vesture of

medio interradiat lapis inusitatæ magnitudinis, qui dicitur Camayeu, et in circuitu ejusdem sunt alii octo lapides pretiosi, videlicet quatuor smaragdinæ et quatuor bales."

Meminit hujus rationalis Rituale Rem. gestatque illud S. Remigius in pectore lateralibus januis majoris ecclesiæ monasteriorum S. Remigii et S. Nicasii (Marlot, *Metropolis Remensis Historia*, ii. 475). It was attached to the chasuble by three silver-gilt, pearl-headed pins : Item tres acus de argento deaurato servientes ad tenendum dicta rationalia cum casula, et habet quælibet acus in summitate unam grossam margaritam antiquam.—*Ibid.*, 476.

In Du Bouchet, *Hist. générale de la Maison de Courtenay* (Paris, 1661), p. 174, may be seen an exact representation of this Rheims rational, upon the effigy which once lay near the high altar at that cathedral of Archbishop Robert de Courtenay, who died A.D. 1323. It was fastened immediately upon the pall.

[19] At a visit to the ancient abbey of Vasor, on the banks of the Meuse, Martene was shown, among other church ornaments, one made of rock-crystal, set with precious stones, which the abbots of that house used formerly to wear upon the breast when they officiated : Il nous fit voir un cristal de roche orné de pierres précieuses, sur lequel on voit l'histoire de Susanne très-finement gravée, à ce qu'on prétend, par S. Eloi, sur lequel on lit *Lotharius, rex Francorum, me fieri jussit.* Autrefois les abbez le portoient sur leur poitrine lorsqu'ils officioient (*Voyage Littéraire de Deux Bénédictins*, ii. 132). Such an ornament was thus worn by way of a rational—for monks, as well as seculars, used this sacred appendage.

[20] That from the earliest ages of Christianity the deacon had assigned to him a distinctive sacrificial robe, there can be no doubt ; and an important hint with regard to what was the practice in the second century, throughout the Church in Africa, is afforded us in the Acts, written on the spot, and at the very time (A.D. 203), of the martyrdom of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas. In recounting the vision with which she was blessed and strengthened a short

an Anglo-Saxon deacon when he officiated at the altar; and (374) little doubt can arise but that in shape, colour, and ornament, this sacred robe must

while before her last struggle, St. Perpetua lets us see, not merely the colour and the shape, but that kind of adornment which was peculiar to the diaconal dalmatic then, and for so many ages afterwards,—as she describes the robe in which the good deacon Pomponius appeared to her. The saint tells us: Pridie quam pugnaremus, video in horomate hoc: Venisse Pomponium diaconum ad ostium carceris . . . qui erat vestitus discintam candidam, habens multiplices calliculas. Et dixit mihi: Perpetua, te expectamus, . . . veni (*Passio SS. Perpetuæ et Felicitatis*, cap. x. ed. Robinson, p. 74). These "calliculæ" could have been no other than the species of ornament spoken of below by Amalarius; and they seem to have been marks of honour, for they are again noticed on the dress of the distinguished personage, the umpire, whom the martyr saw in her vision: Et exivit vir quidam miræ magnitudinis . . . discinctatus purpuram inter duos clavos per medium pectus, habens calliculas multiformes ex auro et argento factas, efferens virgam quasi lanista, &c.—*Ibid.*

Printed along with the works of St. Austin, but wrongly ascribed to that holy father, are the *Quæstiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti.* The author of them is supposed (by Cave and others) to have been Hilarius the deacon; but whoever he was, he must, from his own showing (*Quæst.* 44), have written them some time about the year 360. That the dalmatic was worn by deacons as well as by bishops at that period, is plain from this writer's remarks (*Quæst.* 46), wherein he says: Sed hinc, inquiunt, videtur sacerdos fuisse Samuel, quia vestitus erat Ephot. Quasi non hodie diaconi dalmaticis induantur sicut episcopi.—Inter *Op. S. Augustini*, tom. iv., parte secunda, p. 45 (Lugduni, 1561).

To show their esteem for a particular bishop, the supreme pontiffs often bestowed upon the deacons who served his church, the privilege of wearing, like those of Rome, the dalmatic. Pope Symmachus thus exhibited his feelings of kindness towards St. Cæsarius of Arles (b. 470, d. 542), as we gather from the sketch of that celebrated Gaulish prelate's life, drawn up by three of his scholars: Papa Symmachus tanta meritorum ejus dignitate permotus. . . . Diaconos ipsius ad Romanæ instar ecclesiæ dalmaticarum fecit habitu præeminere (*Vita S. Cæsarii Ep.*, iv. 71; in *AA. SS. Augusti*, vi.); and a little later, Pope St. Gregory the Great extended the same mark of pontifical favour to Aregius, another Gaulish bishop, who had sent and asked for it. In a

have been here (375) the same as the one worn at that period throughout the Church abroad. In form, the dalmatic (376) was a long loose tunic or kind of frock, without any opening in

letter which that pontiff wrote to this prelate, he says : Communis filius Petrus diaconus nobis innotuit quod Fraternitas vestra, tempore quo hic fuit, poposcerit ut sibi et archidiacono suo utendi dalmaticis licentiam præberemus. . . . Te vel archidiaconum tuum dalmaticarum usu decorandos esse concessimus.—S. Gregory, *Epist.*, ix. 107, ad Aregium, Ep. Vapincensem [*P.L.* lxxvii. 1034].

By the way, a record of such favours, so bestowed, accepted, and asked for, would itself show how the Roman pontiffs exercised, and the prelates of the Church acknowledged, the papal supremacy, even in the smallest things.

This Roman dalmatic, I suspect, differed but little from a robe which it was (throughout Gaul, and, we may assume, among the Britons of this island likewise) the custom for officiating deacons to wear, and is so well described in that valuable, no less than interesting, liturgical document brought to light by Martene, the *Expositio Brevis*. Its author, who seems to have lived *c.* A.D. 550, tells us the deacon's dress was white, made of silk, or woollen stuff, and unconfined by a girdle hung loose about his person. Though this writer employs the word "alba" to designate this garment, such a term is not to be taken in the liturgical meaning which is now affixed to it, for here, as elsewhere, "vestis" must be understood along with it : indeed, only a few paragraphs before, "alba vestis" comes more than once : "Albas," says this writer, "albas vero quas levitæ utuntur ideo statuerunt patres, quia in vestimento tincto non sic apparet cito macula quomodo in albo : et minister altaris ideo utitur ut observet et caveat omnem maculam. . . . Serico vel vellere fictur. . . . Alba autem non constringitur cingulo, sed suspensa tegit levitæ corpusculum," &c.—Martene, *Thes. Anecd.*, v. 100.

Early in the eighth century, if not before, the dalmatic seems to have become everywhere the distinguishing vestment of the deacon,—very likely from the fact, that most great churches had asked and obtained from Rome the privilege of wearing it. With respect to the practice of this country, there can be no doubt upon the matter, for Archbishop Ecgberht's Pontifical enjoins its use—see the end of note 25, p. 312.

[21] Of the deacon, Ælfric tells us that "he shall minister to the Saviour in a white alb."—*Canons*, in Thorpe, ii. 348.

front, but slit up below a little way on each side, and its sleeves, which were wide, reached almost as far as the wrist. Its colour was usually white, and a stripe or broad band stained crimson, with a number of short narrow branches of the same dye, but sometimes of gold, shooting out of it at the edges, fell from each shoulder down to the lowermost end before and behind.[22] The cuff of the left sleeve, as (377) well as the opening on the left side, were both fringed, for a symbolic reason,

THE VERY OLD FORM OF THE DEACON'S DALMATIC. [23]

[22] These bands and branches are well shown in our wood-cut (*Hierurgia*, ii. 646) of Abbot Elfnoth and deacon, from a manuscript in the British Museum, *Harley*, 2908 ; and on St. Dunstan's dalmatic, here, at p. 297.

From Amalarius (A.D. 830) we have a full description of the deacon's dalmatic: Ipsa dalmatica duas coccineas lineas habet retro similiterque in anteriori parte. Meaning, no doubt, those little branches shown in the wood-cut, coming out of the stripes in front, Amalarius says: Aliquæ dalmaticæ habent viginti octo fimbrias ante et retro . . . et aliquæ triginta et triginta. Singulæ lineæ altrinsecus quindecim. . . . Sinistrum latus habet fimbrias. . . . At dextrum latus non habet. Largitas brachiorum largitatem . . . datoris demonstrat. Ipsa (dalmatica) habet pertusas subtus alas, &c.—*De Eccl. Off.*, ii. 21 [*P.L.* cv. 1096, 1097].

Another writer of that period, Theodulf, lets us know that the dalmatic was white:

> Candida ut extensis niteat dalmatica rugis
> Fimbria neve erret huc sine lege levis.
> —*Carmina*, V. iii. *Parœn. ad Epis.*, 41 [*P.L.* cv. 355].

That something of the kind still ornamented the deacon's

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throughout the Latin Church
always above his dalmatic;[25] nor
now, brought across the breast

but there was no fringe on the right side of this garment. See cut opposite.[24]

(378) By the Anglo-Saxon rubric, most probably the deacon wore his stole in a manner differing from that which is now, and has been many centuries in use throughout the Latin Church—never under, but always above his dalmatic;[25] nor was it then, as now, brought across the breast

dalmatic in the thirteenth century, is evident from the words of an English writer, John Garland, who says: Dalmatica instar collobii Domini nostri manicas habeat factas: deservit ministerio diaconi in qua xv fimbriarum ordines ab extrinsecus esse debent. —*De Ornatis Altaris*, inter opera J. de Garlandia (MS. 385, Biblioth. Coll. Caii, Cantab.).

[23] The above figure of the deacon in his dalmatic is engraved in the interesting *Voyage Litt. de Deux Bénédictins*, i. 153, from a very old codex of the Gregorian Sacramentary, belonging, when Martene saw it, to the cathedral library of Autun. The stripes of purple down both sides, as well as the full long sleeves, are very distinct; and when this diaconal garment itself is contrasted with the tunicle allotted to the subdeacon (whose figure, borrowed from the same manuscript, the reader's eye will soon meet, p. 316), the greater width and length of this dalmatic, together with its peculiar ornamental bands, are immediately discernible.

[24] This figure of the martyred St. Lawrence is copied from a drawing of a large size at fol. 49^{v} in a very curious manuscript containing the Apocalypse, and illuminated during the thirteenth century. This fine codex is now in the library at Lambeth Palace, and bears the shelf-mark 209. What makes the above figure of St. Lawrence so valuable is, that it is the only illumination which I have as yet met with in which the fringe on the left sleeve is indicated.

[25] Diaconus cum ordinatur, circumdetur ejus humerus sinister cum stola (*Egbert Pontifical* 18). From such a rubric in this precious Anglo-Saxon Pontifical, for giving the stole to the deacon at his ordination, by putting it upon his left shoulder, we are warranted in thinking that minister, whenever he had to serve at the altar, bore this distinctive badge of his degree in holy orders in the way we have supposed. In Lacy's Pontifical (p. 86), the

and back like a belt, and tied under the right arm, but left to hang drooping and at freedom (379) over the left shoulder. Such we know, from many other monuments beside the accompanying wood-cut, was the usage upon the Continent during those times; and as that rite lasted in Italy until the eleventh century,[26] in all likelihood it did so in this country, even after the institution of the Sarum use by St. Osmund.

From the manuscript now in the Minerva Library at Rome, of a Latin Pontifical written out for Landulf, Bishop of Capua, in the ninth century.

(380) Not only during the Anglo-Saxon period,[27] but for centuries afterwards, even up to the change of religion, the dalmatic was not worn, in this country, at every high Mass. According to the Use

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rubric for conferring the stole upon the newly ordained deacon merely says: Episcopus tradat cuilibet diaconorum stolam, &c.

By the rubrics in his Pontifical, Archbishop Ecgberht appoints that dalmatics should be worn at the ceremonies of Maundy Thursday by the deacons who officiate: Diaconi dalmaticis vestiti. —*Ut sup.*, p. 120.

[26] Even as late as the thirteenth century, the rubrics at the cathedral of Sienna required the deacon on week-days during Lent, when he officiated without his dalmatic or the chasuble, but vested merely in the alb, to wear his stole upon his left shoulder: Diaconus habet stolam super sinistrum humerum.—*Ordo Off. Ecc. Senensis*, i. 102, ed. Trombelli, p. 91.

[27] From Ælfric's words (note 21) it is to be presumed that the "white alb," without a dalmatic over it, was the garb which the deacon wore while ministering at the holy sacrifice on days that were not solemn festivals.

drawn up by St. Osmund,[28] deacon and sub-deacon officiated at the altar, vested in albs without dalmatic or tunicle, upon all eves of festivals, upon ember days, and when Mass was sung for the dead; and such a rubric was kept in England till the latest hour of Queen Mary's reign.[29]

Though the white dalmatic, with its crimson (381) bands and its fringes, may have been in use even after St. Osmund's times, still it is most likely that the Anglo-Saxons employed, like ourselves, the richest kinds of stuffs for this vestment,[30] and had it made in each of the liturgical colours of their ritual. Certain it is, that immediately after the coming here of the Normans, the dalmatic corresponded in colour with the sacerdotal chasuble, and, like it, was overspread with beautiful embroideries and ornaments in gold. But while this was done, not the smallest alteration happened to the shape of the dalmatic, and it still keeps the same precise form it had from its beginning in the early ages of the Church.

In Anglo-Saxon times, as now, the dalmatic was not worn during the penitential season of Lent, nor on the ember days; then, not only priest, but deacon as well as subdeacon, was vested

[28] See *Use of Sarum*, i. xlv. (94), and xlvi. (95).

[29] See the *Missale ad usum Ecc. Sarisburiensis* (Parisiis, 1555), *in locis*. The same rubric is set down for Good Friday.—*Ibid.*, fol. lxxvi. b. [Burntisland ed. col. i. 316, 860*].

[30] That they really did, is shown by the dalmatic of purple richly embroidered which was found on St. Cuthberht's body. See note 39, p. 322.

at the holy sacrifice in a chasuble, which each put off, or adjusted in a particular manner, at certain portions of his respective ministration ;[31] a liturgical practice, (382) with regard to deacon and subdeacon, which was prescribed by St. Osmund in his Use for Salisbury,[32] (383) and is still followed by us who observe the Roman rite.

[31] This we learn from the regulations of St. Dunstan, who says: Tunc induti casulis sacerdos, diaconus, ac subdiaconus peragant ministeria sua. Hic autem mos casularii tantummodo quadragesimali et quatuor temporibus usu præcedentium patrum observetur. Subdiaconus quoties casula induitur, exuat eam dum legit epistolam, qua lecta rursus ea induatur. Diaconus vero antequam ad Evangelium legendum accedat, exuat casulam, et duplicans eam, circumponat sibi in sinistra scapula, annectens alteram summitatem eius cingulo albæ. Peracto communionis sacramento induit eam antequam collecta finiatur.—*Regularis Concordia*, in Reyner, *Apost. Benedict.* Append. p. 85.

It was only the subdeacon who took his chasuble quite off at one particular time—the deacon merely rolled his up over his shoulder.

If through a dearth of singers the Anglo-Saxon priest was obliged to chant the response, or versicles, which followed the epistle at Mass ; or if for want of a deacon he had to sing the Gospel himself, he was forbidden to take off his chasuble while about these portions of the liturgy; but in going through the latter of them, he merely rolled that vestment up over his shoulders, as the deacon would have done during Lent or Advent: Presbiter, si responsorium cantat in missa, vel quæcunque agat, cappam suam non tollat: si Evangelium legit, super humeros ponat (Theodore, *Lib. Pœnit.*, c. xlviii. in Thorpe, ii. 57). This "cappa" is evidently our chasuble, and the "responsorium" what we now call the "graduale." Liturgical authors have given reasons why the priest should not ever strip himself of his chasuble while saying Mass. Amalarius writes: Sacerdos in suo officio non se exuit casula, quia præcipiente Domino per Moysen non debet exire de sanctis (*De Eccles. Offic.*, ii. 22 [*P.L.* cv. 1098]. Moreover, the symbolic meaning of this ceremony is thus explained by Honorius of Autun in his *Gemma Animæ:* Dum ad evangelium casulam super humerum projicit (sacerdos) quasi gladium arripit.—*Gem. An.*, i. 82, Hittorp, p. 1203.

A DEACON IN FOLDED CHASUBLE
On the North-West Tower of Wells Cathedral

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SECTION III

From the dalmatic, come we to the subdeacon's

Tunicle,

which was, in outline, the same as the diaconal garment, and differed from it only by being smaller in all its dimensions, and decked with fewer and less conspicuous adornments.[33] The sleeves of the tunicle were neither so wide nor so long,[34] nor did (384) its skirts reach quite so far down as those of the dalmatic: no crimson bands striped it, and, at the beginning of its use, ornaments wrought in gold and embroideries were very scantily bestowed upon it. But it was not even then altogether without

[32] See *Use of Sarum*, i. xxxix. (92).

[33] To understand this difference between the deacon's dalmatic and the subdeacon's tunicle (as both those vestments used to be made in Anglo-Saxon times, and even to a much later period), I would beg of the reader to look at, and compare, our two woodcuts,—one (p. 310), of a deacon, the other (p. 316), of a subdeacon, figured in an illumination in the very old manuscript, once at Autun, of a Sacramentary which is published by Pamelius, *Liturgicon* ii. 388, with the name of Grimold (*c.* A.D. 841), attached to it, though he does not tell us if he found it anywhere in the codex. See also our note 23, p. 311.

[34] The distinctive narrowness of the subdeacon's tunicle, in the sleeves, is marked by an Irish liturgical writer of the eleventh century, Gilbert, Bishop of Limerick (*c.* A.D. 1090), who observes, in his highly interesting little work *De Usu Ecclesiastico:* Subdiaconorum est epistolam legere, &c. . . . et tunicam strictis manicis in sollemniis induunt [*P.L.* clix. 999]. Nor is it overlooked in the thirteenth century by Durandus, who says: Dalmatica diaconi ampliores habet manicas quam tunicella subdiaconi, que alicubi subtile vocatur.—*Rationale*, iii. i. note 3.

some comeliness: often was it made of silk, of purple, or of cloth of price brought from afar; nay, sometimes it has happened that these tunicles have been deemed not unworthy of a place among those rich bequests of costly vestments and sacred appurtenances which our Anglo-Saxon bishops and their contemporaries elsewhere have left, by will, to some fondly beloved church.[35]

A Subdeacon in his Tunicle. See note 23.

(385) Until late in the thirteenth century, this subdeacon's vestment had not, in general, the name of tunicle given it, but was called in some countries "subtile," in others "roc": under this latter appellation more par-

[35] St. Ansigisus bequeathed (A.D. 820) to the abbey of Fontinel (or St. Vandrille), in Normandy, among many other rich gifts: Dalmaticas ministrorum ministerio aptas sex: roccum subdiaconalem unum (*Chron. Fontanellense*, ab auctore cœvo, in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, ii. 280). A few years later (A.D. 831), along with a variety of costly vestments, there were, in the treasury belonging to the church of St. Riquier, also in France: Dalmaticæ xxxi. hrocci serici xv. lanei xi. (*Chron. Centulense*, iii. 3) [*P.L.* clxxiv. 1258]. In the year 915, Bishop Riculph leaves, together with other sacred garments mentioned in his will: Roquos quatuor, unum purpureum cum auro, et alium palleum Græco, et alios duos in Græcia factos (*Test. Riculphi Helenensis* [*P.L.* cxxxii. 468]. Leofric, Bishop of Exeter, in the reign of our last Anglo-Saxon king, gave, at his death, to his church, besides other things: ii. dalmatica, and iii. pistel roccas, and iiii. subdeacones handlin.—Kemble, *Codex Dip. Angl.*, iv. 275.

ticularly, was such a liturgical garment known here among the Anglo-Saxons.[36]

(386) The use of the tunicle, as a vestment for the subdeacon, reaches far back through the annals of the Church.

That in the earlier ages, all the clergy—the bishop, the priest, the deacon, and the rest of the ecclesiastical order—along with their distinctive robes, wore one kind of white garment when they ministered at the holy sacrifice, is quite certain. Such a ceremonial vesture, common to every rank of clerks, could have been no other than what we now call the alb.[37] Doubtless it was that clad in this the subdeacon, at first, went about his liturgical office and waited upon the deacon ; but it is likely that, soon after the dalmatic came to be worn by deacons, a tunicle was allowed to subdeacons.

[36] See Durand (just quoted, note 34), for the use of the term "subtile." With regard to the Anglo-Saxon appellation of "Roc," the "iii pistel roccas" bequeathed by Leofric leave no doubt upon the matter. Up to the end of Queen Mary's reign, it was usual to call the principal subdeacon (for there were many on grand occasions) the "Pistoller." At poor Mary's funeral, bishops were the "Pystellers and Gospellers" (Leland, *Collectanea*, v. 312, 313). This will show why the Anglo-Saxons called the subdeacon's tunicle, in which he sang the epistle at Mass, the "pistel roc." Both St. Ansigisus and Riculph mention the subdeacon's tunicle by the name of "roc," as we find in the last note.

[37] Writing against our British countryman, the heretic Pelagius, St. Jerome says : Unde adjungis gloriam vestium et ornamentorum Deo esse contrarium. Quæ sunt ergo inimicitiæ contra Deum si tunicam habuero mundiorem : si episcopus, presbyter, et diaconus, et reliquus ordo ecclesiasticus in administratione sacrificiorum candida veste processerint.—*S. Hieronymus*, lib. prim. adv. Pelagium, *op.*, ii. 185.

Certain however is it, that the privilege of assuming the tunicle was granted to the subdeacons of Rome by one of the supreme pontiffs, so long (387) before the times of St. Gregory the Great (A.D. 590–604), that he himself forgot who it was.[38]

[38] Subdiaconos autem ut spoliatos procedere facerem, antiqua consuetudo Ecclesiæ fuit. Sed placuit cuidam nostro Pontifici, nescio cui qui eos vestitos procedere præcepit. Nam vestræ (Sicilianæ) ecclesiæ numquid traditionem a Græcis acceperunt? Unde habent ergo hodie ut subdiaconi lineis in tunicis procedant, nisi quia hoc a matre sua Romana ecclesia perceperunt (St. Gregory, *Epist. ad Johan. Syracus.*, ix. 12) [*P.L.* lxxvii. 956]. In this celebrated letter the pontiff defends some changes which he had made in the ceremonies of the Mass.

The ancient authorities in this and the foregoing note 35, completely overthrow what has been put forth on the subject by the author of the *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, who, in speaking of the maniple and tunicle with which the subdeacon was invested at his ordination, according to the rubrics of our old English Pontificals, asserts that, "in fact both of them were of late introduction into the Church as part of the vestments of subdeacons" (iii. 182 [ii. 193], note 47). Yet only a very few lines lower down, in the same place, he informs his readers, and correctly too: "But it is a curious fact, that the very ancient pontifical of Archbishop Egbert of York has this rubric in the ordination of a subdeacon (p. 15): 'Et tradat ei calicem, et patenam, et manipulum.'" Now in reference to the maniple, the use of it by the subdeacon, shown in "the very ancient" Pontifical of Egberht to have been, in that Anglo-Saxon prelate's days, a common and authorised rite, could not have been of "late introduction into the Church." Even Bishop Leofric's legacy of "iiii. subdeacones handlin," or four subdeacon's maniples (see our foregoing note 35) would have, by itself, disproved Mr. Maskell's assertion. But that writer goes on to say, towards the end of his note: "With regard to the tunic, it seems to be agreed on, that it was introduced after the eleventh century; and was at first used in the case of those who, being monks, were to be ordained subdeacons."

I am quite at a loss to imagine upon what grounds Mr. Maskell rests an opinion which he takes at once "to be agreed upon." In the first place: there is the widest difference possible between the official use of a peculiar ceremonial robe by any clerk fulfilling a certain ministry about the altar, and the formal delivery of that

(388) St. Gregory took away this vestment from these ministers, but succeeding popes gave it them

very garment to the same individual at his ordination. There can be no doubt that each of our sacred vestments had been worn, and its use limited to certain services and particular ministers of the sanctuary, long—very long—before the Church in her wisdom thought it well to bestow one of these same vestments, as a distinctive badge of their office, in a formal manner, upon her servants, every time she called them a step higher in holy order. For centuries, all clerks, from the bishop downward, including even acolytes, wore the chasuble while about the sacred ceremonies; and, to the present day, both subdeacon and deacon ought to wear that vestment in Lent and Advent: and yet it is only on reaching the priesthood that the churchman is formally clothed in it. Again, the cope may be put on by all clerks: very often, too, it is reserved as the robe of ecclesiastical honour, for the highest personages in the hierarchy; and yet at no step in the Sacrament of Order is any one ever solemnly invested with it. Somewhat in the same way, by general liturgical usage, the dalmatic was assigned to the deacon, the tunicle to the subdeacon officiating at the eucharistic sacrifice, for the greater solemnity of that mystic rite, as well as to afford those officials themselves some truthful admonitions about their duty, in the beautiful symbolism of those garments, ages before the eleventh century, or the time, whenever it was, that the Church was pleased to invest her deacons and subdeacons at their ordination with such vestments in a formal manner.

Regarding the maniple, the antiquity of its use by subdeacons, as well as the formal delivery of it to them at their ordination, is fully shown by Archbishop Ecgberht's Pontifical.

That long before the close of the sixth century, the tunicle had, in some places, been allowed to be assumed by subdeacons while ministering at Mass, we have just now seen, at the beginning of this note, p. 318; and with respect to the practice of deacons, when at the altar, being vested, in obedience to the rubric, in dalmatics, it is quite evident from the same venerable Pontifical of Ecgberht, as was observed before, at note 25, p. 311.

If it be, as I presume, from Martene, that Mr. Maskell has borrowed his above expressed opinion concerning the subdeacon's tunicle, my esteemed Protestant countryman has misunderstood the learned Catholic French monk. That justly celebrated Benedictine does not say that the tunicle, as a part of the subdeacon's vestments, was of as late an introduction as the eleventh century;

back; and (389) as years flowed on, not only the subdeacons of the city of Rome, but throughout all Christendom, (390) were permitted to array themselves in it on solemn occasions.

but what he does observe, is, that the maniple, or "mappula," began, about such a period, to be formally presented to the subdeacon, at his ordination, as a portion of his official vestments; and that even then such a rite was not followed towards all clerks, but those only who were monks (*De Antiq. Ecc. Rit.*, t. ii. lib. i. cap. viii. art. viii. § xvi. p. 20). True, indeed, it is that an opinion very much like the one which Mr. Maskell has adopted concerning the subdiaconal tunicle, is set forth by Martene about the dalmatic of the deacon, with this difference, however, that far from asserting that the use of the dalmatic by deacons was of late introduction into the Church, this great French liturgist confines himself to the question of the delivery of that vestment to the deacon at his ordination, for he says: Multo tardius dalmaticæ traditio introducta in ordinatione diaconorum, quæ primum instituta videtur in gratiam eorum, qui in monasteriis ordinabantur, atque inde ad alios ab annis circiter 500 transiit, et non prius.—*Ut supra*, art. ix. § viii. p. 22.

Though the opinion of a writer like Martene, so deeply learned in all questions belonging to the liturgy, must always carry along with it much weight, still, being but an opinion, it may, as such, be fairly canvassed; and I for one, at the same time that I bear the greatest respect towards the memory of so distinguished a liturgical scholar, must beg, with unfeigned humility, leave to differ from him on these points. Because he does not happen to find in those rituals which have come down to us any notice of the formal delivery, at ordination, of the dalmatic to the deacon, and of the maniple to the subdeacon, until the eleventh century, Martene assumes that all along, before that time, those vestments had never been so conveyed to the above-named ministers of the altar. Now, to say nothing of the very few liturgical codices, which, comparatively speaking, have reached our hands, and the incompleteness and shattered condition of some among the few which have been snatched from the wreck, every one accustomed to liturgical reading is well aware that the earliest manuscripts are, if not quite bare, at best but scantily furnished with rubrics. The liturgical student finds, too, that among codices of the same age and country, some are much richer than others in rubrical directions. But taking the codex most abundant in rubrics as our

(391) Beautiful as the Anglo-Saxon dalmatic and tunicle were,[39] the churchmen of this country did

guide, we should soon discover that, were it not for those gleams of light which so often break upon our path from out the ecclesiastical writers of the times, we should now have but little, if any, knowledge of many old liturgical practices with which we are at present well acquainted, though they have ceased to exist, or have been aware of the very early introduction of those which we still follow. Without the Saints' lives, and the historical works from the pen of St. Gregory of Tours, for instance, how many things had been hidden to us for ever respecting the ancient liturgy of Gaul! Nay, although almost the whole of the Salisbury Use had been printed while this country was still Catholic, and before the Salisbury Use was done away with in our churches by the acts of our first Protestant parliament—though, too, those Salisbury books were so full of rubric—notwithstanding this, were it not for information no-how to be gathered from them, but gleaned elsewhere, there are many important observances in our old English ritual of which we should have known nothing at the present day.

While this remark is so applicable to the printed liturgical books of the sixteenth century, it becomes even stronger with respect to the manuscripts of early times. By the help of these venerable codices alone, we could never have even guessed the ancient existence of certain rites which used to be followed, as we learn from the casual mention in history of them, or by the express explanation of their nature and meaning left us by those who wrote upon the services of the Church as they were celebrated in their day.

Many ceremonies were handed down from one age and country to another; and because they had been so widely received, and become so thoroughly known, it was deemed needless to burden an already large and heavy volume with a rubric of them. They were watched over by an ever-wakeful tradition. This will explain why some old rituals are fuller than others of rubrics, which are to be looked upon, not as the inventions of the age in which we first read them, but often as proofs of the greater leisure, or more exact liturgical taste, of him who wrote out the manuscript. If, therefore, Martene did not find in any manuscript earlier than the eleventh century, the investiture of the deacon with the dalmatic, and of the subdeacon with the maniple, at ordination, he is by no means warranted to decide that, until the first mention in the rubrics of that period of such a ceremony, those vestments used

(392) not overlook them in their zeal to keep up the splendour of the sanctuary, but towards the end (393) of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century bestowed a new and comely adornment upon them. Across the breast was attached a somewhat broad piece of embroidered work, or in its stead, of cloth of gold studded with pearls, and (394) another of the same kind and dimensions, behind, between the shoulders, upon each of these vestments. Such embroideries often exhibited groups of figures illustrative of some

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not to be bestowed in this formal way upon these ministers; much less are others borne out in their assertions concerning the late introduction into common use, of these and some other articles of sacred apparel.

[39] In describing the old Anglo-Saxon vestments in which St. Cuthberht's body was found robed, when his grave was opened, Reginald, the monk of Durham, writes thus of the dalmatic and tunicle: Christianorum more pontificum, post hæc tunica et dalmatica indutus est; quarum utrarumque genus ex precioso purpuræ colore et textili varietate satis venustum et permirabile est. Nempe dalmatica, quæ superius evidentius apparet. . . . Cujus dalmaticæ fines extremos limbus deauratus instar aurifraxii alicujus, undique perambiendo circumluit. . . . . Qui ad mensuram palmæ virilis latitudine distenditur; cujus operis industria satis artificiosa fuisse videtur. Simili modo in utriusque manicæ finibus postremis, de quibus prodeunt manus vel brachia gloriosi pontificis. Circa collum vero ubi caput emittitur limbus aureus priore latior, opere et precio etiam incomparatior esse videtur. Qui permaximam humeri utriusque partem tam posteriorem quam anteriorem obtegit, eo quod ex alterutra regione palmi ac pene dimidii plenitudine latior sit (*De adm. virt.*, pp. 87, 88). We have here another instance of the favourite Anglo-Saxon kind of ornament called the "flower," noticed before, note 12, p. 297, and embroidered on the breast and shoulders of the dalmatic. That this vestment, when worn by a bishop, was equally splendid in other parts of the Church is shown by our wood-cut (p. 260) of St. Ecclesius, wrought in mosaic in the church of St. Vitalis, at Ravenna, A.D. 547. The colour of this dalmatic is purple.

great event in the annals of our faith, and not unfrequently was the whole life of the deacon St. Stephen, particularly the stoning of that protomartyr, wrought upon these ornaments of the deacon's dalmatic. Perhaps, too, even then, as we know was the custom later abroad, other two corresponding pieces used to be sewed in the lower part, before and behind, on these garments for the deacon and subdeacon, much in the same way as the apparels on the albs worn without dalmatic and tunicle by those ministers, as we shall have to notice just now.[40]

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[40] Tunica et dalmatica Indici coloris . . . cum tribus aurifrigiis, et listis in scapulis ante et retro diversi operis.

Tunica et dalmatica . . . cum bullonibus de margaritis.—*Visitat. in Thes. S. Pauli, Londini* (A.D. 1295), in Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 322.

Tunicæ et Dalmaticæ.

Par unum de Panno de Tharse coloris de pounaz cum stellis et crescenciis aureis cum Tassellis in dorso de martirio S. Stephani brudatis super Dalmaticam, et martirium S. Thome brudatum super tunicam. Par unum S. Edmundi de samicto de morre cum tassellis ante et retro consutis.—*Invent. Ch. Ch. Canter.*, p. 57.

Par unum . . . de croceo samicto cum tassellis de Baudekino ante et retro [*Ibid.*, p. 58]. For the meaning of the word "tassellis," look at note 63, further on. It must not be taken here for our English term, "tassel." Bundles of what we now call tassels were, and still are, worn drooping behind from either shoulder of the deacon's dalmatic and the subdeacon's tunicle, and tied together by gold or silken cord, just as those are which are seen figured hanging from bishops' and cardinals' hats. Formerly these bunches of tassels were worn both before and behind, as may be found in old paintings and wood-cuts; but I apprehend these tassels were not introduced until the end of the fifteenth century anywhere.

Bishops' tunicles had no fringe, but their dalmatics had, as may be seen from the pontifical vestments of Bishop Giffard, shown in our wood-cut, p. 306.

(395) But in olden times, of those who ministered at the altars of God in this land, the deacon did not exclusively array himself in the venerable dalmatic—the subdeacon was not the only one who put on the tunicle: both of these robes were assumed by our ancient prelates.

Under his wide-spreading chasuble the Anglo-Saxon bishop wore, as ever since the true bishops of this country have worn, and do now wear when they pontificate, a dalmatic and a tunicle, fashioned as at present, with wide sleeves. Whatever may have been the colour of the chasuble above them, the episcopal dalmatic and tunicle seem to have been almost always of a bright purple or sky-blue, for a symbolic reason;[41] and for a like cause, these (396) same episcopal under-vestments were made, not only of the richest and rarest silks, but elaborate ornaments were bestowed upon them: a deep border of gold edged the full sleeves and hems of

[41] Hyacinthus, quoniam aeris et cœli speciem imitatur, eorundem mentes electorum omni spe ac desiderio cœlestia quærentes significat. Cujus nobis coloris sacramentum commendans Apostolus, ait: Si consurrexistis cum Christo, quæ sursum sunt quærite, &c. (Beda, *De Tabern.* ii. 2) [*P.L.* xc. 426]. Hyacinthum diximus quoniam aerii coloris est cœlestium bonorum significationi congruere (*Ibid.*) [428]. From what John of Avranches, Archbishop of Rouen, the countryman and contemporary of St. Osmund, says, it is clear that the episcopal tunicle continued, in those days, to be of a sky-blue colour: Deinde tunica, de qua dixit Dominus ad Aaron: *Facies tunicam hyacinthinam*, hæc vero sub dalmatica induitur et subucula nominatur. Hyacinthus vero non rarus est, nec densitate obtensus, nec rutilat æqualiter, sereno enim cælo fit perspicuus, et nubilo pallidus est, unius et quasi ætherei coloris.—*De Off. Eccl.*, ed. Prevotio, p. 417 [*P.L.* cxlvii. 211].

these mystic garments, while golden embroideries spreading out in wide branches ran down in front upon the breast, and behind upon the back, as well as around either shoulder, in the same way as upon the chasuble.[42] The tunicle, from being of the same shape as the dalmatic, though somewhat smaller in size, is not to be found figured in the pictorial remains of that period.[43]

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[42] For the beautiful dalmatic and tunicle of Anglo-Saxon workmanship, found upon the body of St. Cuthberht, see note 39, p. 322.

[43] Speaking of the tunicle worn by bishops, Amalarius says, in his chapter, "De tunica quam sacerdos induit super camisiam": Sicut in camisia designatur castigatio corporis, ita in tunica virtutes animæ . . . Hæc ipsa hyacinthina tunica, subucula nominatur, et proprie pontificis est (*De Eccl. Off.*, ii. 22). The vestments found, in Reginald's time, upon the body of St. Cuthberht, the colour of Ecclesius's vestments (see wood-cut, p. 260), and the observation of Amalarius, all go to show that, anciently, the bishop's dalmatic and tunicle were almost if not always purple or sky-blue. That the bishops of the Anglo-Saxon period wore both dalmatic and tunicle under the chasuble, when pontifically arrayed, is demonstrated, not only by the fact of these vestments being found upon St. Cuthberht, but by the way in which the liturgical writers of the time speak of them. Thus a scholar of Alcuin says: Si quis voluerit uti duabus tunicis, ostendit se esse diaconum et sacerdotem; . . . habet summus pontifex noster a capite usque ad pedes octo vestimenta. Primum est amictus, secundum camisia, tertium cingulum, quartum stola, quintum et sextum duæ tunicæ, septimum casula, octavum pallium (Amalarius, *De Eccl. Off.*, ii. 22). The mystic meaning which Amalarius assigns to the bishop's tunicle, helps to explain why it is not seen figured in our older ecclesiastical works of art: Sicut in camisia designatur castigatio corporis, ita in tunica virtutes intimæ, quæ ad solos sublimes pertinent . . . Hæc ipsa hyacinthina tunica, subucula nominatur, et proprie pontificis est, significatque rationem sublimium non patere omnibus, sed maioribus, atque perfectis. Ipsa est interior, ipsaque designat virtutes animæ quæ non multis cognitæ sunt, et quas semper debet habere perfectus (*ibid.*) Though he does not enumerate the maniple in the above list of sacred vestments, he speaks of it

(397) Whether the ornaments as well as the colour peculiar to the Aaronic vesture were adopted

immediately afterwards under the name of "sudarium"; and tells us that—in manu sinistra portatur: most likely at that period it was made of linen, as he says: habeamus sudarium ex lino castigatum et mundum.—*Ibid.*, cap. 24 [*P.L.* cv. 1097, 1098, 1099].

Another reason why the tunicle is not seen upon illuminated figures of our Anglo-Saxon bishops in manuscripts, may be, that like the one worn at the period by the Roman pontiff, it was made of linen, and called the linen dalmatic: for in the first "Ordo Romanus," a codex of the beginning of the tenth century (Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, ii. 2), we find: Subdiaconi regionarii . . . accipiunt ad induendum pontificem ipsa vestimenta, alius lineam, alius cingulum, alius anagolaium, id est amictum, alius lineam dalmaticam, et alius majorem dalmaticam, et alius planetam (*ibid.*, p. 6.) Though the codex be a manuscript of the tenth century, the "Ordo" itself must be much older, as it is the one quoted by Amalarius (A.D. 820–830), the scholar of our Alcuin, in his book on the Divine Offices and his *Ecloga*. It is not unlikely that the ritual for the Roman pontiff was also followed by our Anglo-Saxon bishops, since in the same "Ordo" it is observed: Episcopi qui civitatibus præsident, ut summus pontifex, ita omnia peragunt.—*Ibid.*, p. 17.

In Walafrid Strabo's time (A.D. 842), not only bishops, but priests thought themselves sometimes entitled to wear a dalmatic along with the chasuble: Nunc pene omnes episcopi et nonnulli presbyterorum sibi licere existimant, id est ut sub casula dalmatica vestiantur (*De rebus Eccles.*, cap. 24, Hittorp, p. 686). There are grounds for believing that such a practice was kept up in some places until a very late period: we see by a sepulchral stone which Pier de Harroy, in the year 1552, put over the grave wherein St. Walhere was first buried, at the church afterwards called from him Saint-Vohi, near Namur, that rural deans, even in the sixteenth century, must have worn a dalmatic under the chasuble; for as the saint held such an office somewhere about the year 1209, it is likely that, to express this in a way to be well understood, the pious Pier had the holy dean figured on the slab vested just as such dignified ecclesiastics were wont to be at that day. Everything about the monument being quite in the style of the sixteenth century, shows that the customs of the then present age, and not of the past, were followed. An engraving of it is given in the *AA. SS. Junii*, iv. 614.

From the interesting *Ordo Sacramentorum*, drawn up very likely about the middle of the ninth century, and first published by Mat.

by (398) the Anglo-Saxons, and a row of tiny bells hung around the hem of the bishop's purple tunicle in (399) this country, as we know was done abroad, cannot now be ascertained.[44]

(400) After the eleventh century the use of the tunicle was extended further down than subdeacons: clerks in the lower orders were allowed to wear it, as they officiated in the public service at the more solemn festivals of the year. Not only the minor clerk or acolyte,[45] who carried the

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Flaccus Illyricus, the bishop's tunicle is called "subtile," and from the prayer to be said on putting on his dalmatic, it would seem to have been striped with purple:

Ad Subtile

Indue me Domine vestimento salutis, et circumda me lorica fortitudinis.

Ad Dalmaticam

Indumento hoc typico priscorum patrum ritu in modum crucis tramitibus purpureis contexto vestitus, &c.—*Ibid.* in Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.*, lib. i. c. iv. art. xiv., p. 177, tom. i.

As a warning to our old English prelates against any remissness in seeing the canons of the Church fulfilled by their clergy, one among the constitutions drawn up by the cardinal legate Ottoboni, and promulgated in the provincial council of London (A.D. 1268), enacted that the archbishops and bishops who were slothful in their pastoral duties, should have the use of dalmatic, tunicle, and sandals taken, for the time being, from them: Qui si inquirendo desides vel negligenter extiterint . . . archiepiscopi quidem et episcopi a dalmaticæ, tunicæ, et sandaliorum usu . . . sint suspensi.—Wilkins, *Concil.* ii. 4.

[44] In the manuscript of the Mass, written by command of the Abbot Ratoldus (who died A.D. 986), is found the following rubric for vesting a bishop: Ministretur ei tunica gyris in tintinabulis mirice (mirifice?) refecta.—Menard, in *Append. ad Lib. Sacrament. S. Gregorii*, p. 261 [*P.L.* lxxviii. 240].

[45] In die natalis Domini . . . diaconus et subdiaconus et acolitus utuntur dalmaticis et tunicis.—*Use of Sarum*, I. lv. (96). The "acolitus" of this rubric is the cross-bearer, who likewise held

cross at the head of the procession, but the thurifers and (401) taper-bearers, in our large collegiate and cathedral churches, were vested in tunicles.[46] Abroad, this practice was as old as with us; and, until the Revolution, continued to be followed in France, and is even now observed in Spain.[47]

(402) SECTION IV

Besides the tunicle, there is worn by the subdeacon, during the more solemn part of High Mass, another sacred appurtenance, which it may

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the paten behind the subdeacon from the offertory to the *Pater noster;* this clerk is always distinguished in the Sarum rite from the ceroferarii or taper-bearers.

[46] "Quatuor tunicæ pro thuribulariis et choristariis," occurs for the white, red, blue, and green full sets of vestments belonging to York Cathedral about the year 1530.—Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1209.

Capa . . . de spisso panno fracta. Assignatur ad tunicas puerorum (Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 318). This notice in the inventory (taken A.D. 1295) shows that at the period tunicles were worn by the boys who served as taper-bearers at St. Paul's, London.

[47] According to Odericus, the boys who carried the candles at solemn High Mass, were, by the ritual of the church of Sienna, in the thirteenth century, to be arrayed in tunicles: Cereis accensis a pueris indutis tunicellis deportatis.—*Ordo Offic. Ecc. Senensis*, i. 195, ed. Trombelli, p. 178.

When De Moléon wrote his interesting *Voyages Liturgiques* (1700–18), at the church of S. Maurice d'Angers there were "un enfant de chœur chappé portant le bénitier, deux autres en tuniques portant les chandeliers" on high feasts.—*Ibid.* 86: on like occasions, at S. Martin de Tours: Le célébrant sort précedé de deux bédeaux, des sept port-chandeliers en tuniques, de deux thuriferaires en chappes . . . de sept acolythes en tuniques, &c. (*Ibid.*, p. 125). The custom of having the acolytes vested in albs and tunicles is still kept up in Spain, where I saw them, so robed, at High Mass, in the splendid cathedral of Seville, A.D. 1836.

not be out of place to speak of here; and though other names have been given to it at different times, it is at present called

The Offertory Veil.

This is a sort of scarf, commonly about ten feet in length and two feet and a half broad, made of the same kind of silk as the other vestments, and like them has its borders hemmed with gold lace. Casting it about his shoulders so that it may fall equally down on both sides in front, the subdeacon ties it at the breast with two strings, sewed there on purpose, to hinder it from slipping off the person.

Thus arrayed, with the veil above his tunicle, the subdeacon carries up to the altar, from the south side, the chalice, over the mouth of which rests a paten holding the host about to be consecrated. As soon as the priest has laid this host upon the corporal, the subdeacon has given him the empty paten, which he muffles in the folds of his veil, and going to the foot of the altar-steps in the middle of the sanctuary, stays there, with his back to the people, keeping the shrouded paten upheld as high as his face, till the "Pater noster." (403) This ceremony is shown in our etching from an old manuscript.[48] Such is still, and such was

[48] Given further on, in vol. iii.; it is from a missal of the thirteenth century, in the public library at Rouen. In this illumination we behold the priest standing close to the altar; just behind him

in (404) many places the practice; though in old Catholic England an acolyte, clad in an alb and tunicle, and not the subdeacon, so held the paten at High Mass.[49]

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the deacon, with a long-handled fan in both hands; and hindermost of all, the subdeacon, who in keeping the paten uplifted, does not wear the veil thrown about his shoulders, but hanging far down from his wrists.

Some years before the above-named manuscript was written, the Roman ritual had undergone those alterations to be perceived in this painting, wherein not an acolyte, according to the old rubric, but a subdeacon is figured with the veil about his arms, and the paten. This change of one minister for another must have happened somewhere towards the middle of the twelfth century, for Pope Innocent III. (who governed the Church from A.D. 1198 to 1216) says, in his beautiful work *Tractatus de Sacro Altaris Mysterio:* Post susceptam oblatam sacerdos abscondit sub corporali patenam, vel ab altari remotam subdiaconus retro continet involutam (ii. 59) [*P.L.* ccxvii. 834]; thus letting us know that then the rubric was, at Rome, for the subdeacon, and not an acolyte, to hold the wrapped-up paten.

As long as the custom lasted in Italy, for an acolyte to have the paten at High Mass, the scarf he held it with seems to have been mostly of linen, and was called "sindon" and "fanon"; but as soon as the subdeacon began to supersede the acolyte in such an office, the veil not only lost its former name, but was made, if not always, at least very often, of silk, or cloth of gold. An *Ordo Missæ Pontificalis*, printed by Georgi, in his very valuable and rare work, *Liturgia Romani Pontificis*, from a Vatican manuscript of the latter half of the fourteenth century, thus directs: Interim subdiaconus recipiat quoddam velum aureum, et induat eum, et cum parte ipsius anteriori cooperiat patenam per diaconum sibi traditam, quam semper tenere debet retro Papam et diaconum usque post "Pater noster" (*Ibid.*, iii. 578). Even here, in England, where the paten continued, by the Salisbury rubric, until the change in religion, to be held at High Mass by an acolyte, the veil, or rather mantle, was of the same colour and material with the vestments, though sometimes of linen too, as may be seen below.

[49] Ceteris vero ministris scilicet ceroferariis, thuribulario, et acolyto in albis cum amictibus (*Missale Sarisburiensis, ad Ordinarium Missæ*) [Burntisland ed., col. 582]. On high festivals there were: Tres cruces a tribus accolitis deferentibus, albis et tunicis

Though among our native documents of the early Anglo-Saxon epoch, we be unable to lay our finger on any precise mention of such a ministering apparel, yet since we find it spoken of at that period in many liturgical monuments belonging to the other parts of western Christendom,[50] we can (405) hardly believe that it was not quite as well known, and as often employed in the Anglo-Saxon, as it was in any foreign ritual during those times. That, however, it was used in this country during the days of St. Edward the Confessor, and looked upon as one among the officiating ornaments more immediately belonging to the subdeacon, we have strong reasons for thinking from the words of the bequest made to the church of Exeter by Leofric, who was its bishop in that king's time.[51]

(indutis).—*Processionale Sarisburiense in Die Nativitatis*, fol. viii., impressum 1528 [Reprint, p. 11]. To one of these three acolytes, vested in a tunicle as well as alb and amice, was given the paten on such days.

[50] Of the fifteen *Ordines Romani* published by Mabillon, the very first mentions this scarf in the words following: Quando inchoat (pontifex) canonem, venit acolythus, sub humero habens sindonem in collo ligatam, tenens patenam ante pectus suum in parte dextra usque in medium canonem. Tunc subdiaconus sequens suscipit eam super planetam, et venit ante altare, &c. (*Mus. Ital.*, ii. 12). Amalarius (*c.* A.D. 820) quotes these very expressions, and adds these remarks of his own to them: Notandum quod acolythus involutam tenet linteo patenam, subdiaconus nudam, unde liquido apparet, quod consecrata vasa a consecratis clericis merito debeant tantummodo attingi.—*De Off. Ecc.*, iii. 27 [*P.L.* cv. 1147].

[51] Among the vestments (see note 35) bequeathed to Exeter Cathedral by its bishop Leofric, there were "iiii subdiacones handlin." Though the term "handlin" be very indefinite, still

(406) From the beginning however of the Normans' rule in this country, till the end of Henry VIII.'s and Mary's reign the use of this offertory veil in the liturgy of England may be seen from many evidences: it is noticed in our national ritual,[52] (407) and proved by the mention

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I am inclined, since it is noticed as belonging so especially to the subdeacon's use, to understand it of the maniple, or veil, with which that minister muffles his hands, that he may hold with proper respect the consecrated and anointed paten. We can easily imagine that, in taking from the acolyte, to bestow upon the subdeacon, the office of supporting the paten at solemn Mass, the Anglo-Saxon Church wished the old custom always followed, of holding for such a length of time, this hallowed dish, with hands muffled in a towel or veil, should be still kept up by the subdeacon. Not only proper ideas of respect for the body of our Lord, but of cleanliness, would have suggested it, for some people's hands are clammy at all seasons of the year.

[52] Sacerdote vero, *Per omnia secula*, incipiente, subdiaconus offertorium et patenam a manu diaconi accipiat, et ipsam tenendam quousque oratio dominica dicatur, acolito offertorio coopertam committat, in gradu post subdiaconum interim constituto —*Use of Sarum*, I. xxxix. (92), 27.

A countryman and contemporary of St. Osmund's, John of Avranches, afterwards Archbishop of Rouen, directs the paten to be given to the subdeacon, and then to the acolyte, if there be one: Diaconus . . . accipien spatenam de altari subdiacono porrigat, subdiaconus vero si fuerit acolytho (*De Off. Eccl.*, p. 20) [*P.L.* cxlvii. 35]. That John of Avranches required a scarf to be worn by the bearer of the paten, is clear from another passage in the same work: Ubi ergo ad locum, *Da propitius pacem*, venerit, qui mantili indutus tenuerat (patenam?) subdiacono, subdiaconus diacono, diaconus sacerdoti offerat, in qua sacerdos corpus Domini tripliciter dividat. —*Ibid.*, p. 23 [36].

Directing the solemn way in which the empty chalice and the corporals (there were always two) should be brought, just before the epistle, into the church, at High Mass, by the acolyte (whom St. Osmund distinguishes from the taper-bearers), that saint writes: Veniant duo ceroferarii obviam acolito ad ostium presbyterii cum veneratione ipsum calicem ad locum predicte administrationis deferente, offertorio et corporalibus ipsi calici superpositis. Est autem

of the garment itself in many lists of our church ornaments.[53] Moreover, (408) we find that the acolyte who wore it at the holy Sacrifice, was called the "patener"[54] by some of our ancient ecclesiastical writers.

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acolitus in albis et mantello serico ad hoc parato (*Use of Sarum*, I. xxxix. (92, 13). Putting this and the above passage from St. Osmund's rubrics together, it would seem that, according to the Use of Salisbury, the "offertorium" and "mantellum" were two different things. As the "offertorium" was brought, along with the corporals, upon the chalice, and taken, together with the paten, from the deacon by the subdeacon, to be given to the acolyte, it appears to me that the paten was first wrapped up by the subdeacon within the "offertorium," and given thus to the acolyte, who folded it up again in the two ends of the scarf, or mantle, which he still wore about his shoulders, after having fetched the chalice from the vestry, along with the corporals and this very "offertorium," so that he might not, by any chance, touch the golden paten itself with his naked hands. What was the "offertorium," strictly speaking, of the rubrics, might have been of silk, though, in all likelihood, it was made of linen, and rather small; the scarf, or mantle, often called in lists of vestments "offertorium," was, no doubt, almost always of silk, and richly ornamented.

[53] Salisbury Cathedral had (A.D. 1222): Offertorium unum de serico albo, et alia v linea (Wordsworth, *Salisb. Cerem.*, 173). These five linen offertories quite bear out the Anglo-Saxon "handlin," by which word Leofric called them. At St. Paul's Cathedral, London, in the year 1295, along with many other precious ornaments, were: Unum offertorium stragulatum de rubeo et viridi. Quatuor offertoria minora de rubeo serico listata aurifilo, facta de quodam veteri panno, quorum duo habent extremitates de opere Saracenico contextas. Unum offertorium album in extremitate stragulatum aurifilo. Duo offertoria bendata, de opere Saracenico. Duo offertoria de panno albo cum extremitatibus contextis de serico, bestiis, arboribus, turilis, et avibus (Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 324). Among the ornaments of Canterbury Cathedral (A.D. 1315) were: Casule Albe . . . et mantella .i, ejusdem coloris, Item pro martyribus casule . . . mantellæ .ij, rubee, Item pro confessoribus casulæ . . . et mantellæ .ij, de viridi, Item pro defunctis . . . mantellæ .ij, nigre. Mantelle .iij. ad patenam portandam [*Inventories of Ch. Ch., Canterbury*, p. 61].

[54] Dedit (Godefridus abbas) magno altari quinque velamina de

(409) Of old, in England, as at present, the colour of this kind of veil was the same as that of the vestments with which it happened to be worn.

SECTION V

Here, too, we must say a word upon what may be not unaptly called

The Lap-Cloth,

which, under the name of "gremiale," is still employed in our ritual, though its use be limited to the bishop, who has it spread out over his knees while he is seated at High Mass.

This appendage, now made about the size of a

albo serico cum aurifrigio ornata, pro patenario in principalibus festis patenam deportandam (W. de Whytleseye, *Cœnobii Burg. Hist.*, ed. Sparke, p. 169). This Godfrey of Croyland was chosen abbot of Peterborough, A.D. 1299.

The patener is mentioned in other English ecclesiastical documents. By the regulations in force at the great monastic church of Bury St. Edmunds, it was thus enacted: Die Reliquiarum ad magnam missam de oblatione debet diaconus habere xijd., subdiaconus vjd., custodiens patenam iijd., duo ceroferarii, iiijd., &c.—*Mon. Angl.*, iii. 162.

This patener's office was kept up in France until the end of the last century; but the acolyte who discharged its functions, instead of holding the paten in his hands, muffled with a veil, received this little sacrificial dish in a shallow silver basin made for the purpose, and upheld it, so enclosed, until the *Pater noster*. That such was the usage at the cathedral of Paris, we learn from De Moléon, who writes of it thus: Au *Sanctus* le soûdiacre monte à l'autel, y prend la patène, la donne à baiser par dehors au *Spé* ou doyen des enfans de chœur, revêtu d'un soc par dessus son aube, tenant au bas et au milieu des marches de l'autel un grand bassin d'argent couvert d'un voile, et le soûdiacre l'ayant ensuite baisée par dedans, la met au milieu du voile dans ce bassin que le *Spé* tient ensuite élevé un peu loin de l'autel.—*Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 245.

(410) large square napkin of silk, according to the colour of the day, and embroidered with gold, used to be provided, not merely for bishops, but for priest, deacon, and subdeacon, each of whom had strewed across his lap one of these cloths, while they all three sat down, during certain parts of the Mass, within those stone niched seats to be found on the south side of all our old English churches.[55] In (411) those days, however, this lap-cloth was sometimes of linen, sometimes of fine silk flowered with gold, and most likely was the very article which, among our English churchmen, was known

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[55] Cum sedent (sacerdos et diaconus, cum subdiacono) super eorum genua aliquis pannus linneus ad hoc specialiter serviens supponatur (*Statuta Col. S. Marie de Otery* in Oliver, *Mon. Dioc. Exon.*, p. 270). These statutes were drawn up by Bishop Grandison, *circa* A.D. 1339.

The Dominican friars, if they do not yet, did, till a very late period, keep up the use of such linen lap-cloths for the celebrant and his two ministers at high Mass: Si vero dominica, vel duplex . . . fuerit, poterunt omnes ire sessum tali servato ordine, ut sacerdote primo in presbyterio a cornu epistolæ . . . sedere ad ejus sinistram diaconus, et ad hujus sinistram subdiaconus, &c., qui antequam sessum eant mappulam extendent super genua sacerdotis, diaconi, et subdiaconi, taliter possunt etiam super eam manus appodiare (*De Officio Ministrorum Altaris in Missa majori* in *Missale Prædicatorum*). From this rubric we learn, too, that in taking their seats, the priest should sit, not in the middle, but first; the deacon second, on the priest's left hand; and the subdeacon third, on the left hand of the deacon. Such an order of sitting was the ancient practice here in England, as is shown by those old stone stalls, or sedilia, of which there are so many examples of the seats, each higher than the other, according to the liturgical dignity of the occupant. Such, likewise, was the ritual of France and Belgium, as may be seen in the wood-cut of the "Sixiesme article" of that very rare, but truly valuable work, *L'Interprétation et Signification de la Messe* (Anvers, 1529)—a small black-letter volume.

as the "mellium" in their Latin enumerations of ecclesiastical ornaments.[56]

[56] *Sudaria et Mellia.*

In primis, I. mell. sive sudarium auro stragulat. cum II. sudariis ejusdem sect. Item III. alia sudaria seric. et parva. Item I. sudarium stragulat. Item sudarium de sindone. Item vii. tuell. de diaper (*Indent. de Vestimentis, &c. Collegii de Cobham*, A.D. 1479; in Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, p. 241). The liturgical reader cannot help being struck with the first item in the above entry: there is one "mellium" streaked with gold, and two others seemingly not so rich; of course the bettermost one served for the priest; of the other two, one was for the deacon, the other for the subdeacon. The very fact that these "mellia" were of some kind of silk or another, and decked with gold, forbids us to think they might have been meant to answer any of the purposes of a pocket-handkerchief, although, indeed, we find them put down along with fine towels. The word "sudarium" is a good explainer of "mellium," as this cloth itself was meant to hinder the hands from leaving, by their warmth or moisture, any stain upon the vestment whereon they had been resting outspread during the times of sitting down.

(412) SECTION VI

THE ANGLO-SAXON STOLE,

like the one used in this country from the times of St. Osmund, and many hundred years afterwards,[57] was so long as to reach almost to the feet,[58] and to (413) show both its ends below the

[57] Few old English stoles are known to exist; but still there are some. Lord Willoughby de Broke is in the possession of two: one of these is ten feet long by two inches in breadth, and ornamented with no less than thirty-eight shields of arms, on a ground alternately green and pink, worked in silk and gold. In the middle of its length, or at the part which would fall upon the nape of the wearer's neck, it is marked with a cross crosslet; and from the heraldry of the bearings, it would seem to be of the date of Henry VI. The other stole is nine feet in length by three inches broad, and has this inscription, *In hora mortis succurre nobis Domine*, worked in large letters all down it, each letter of the inscription being in the centre of a quatrefoil on a gold ground: at each end is a shield displaying, *or*, a cross, *sable;* and in the middle of its length, the arms of Lacy Earl of Lincoln, *or*, a lion rampant, *purple*: another inscription in capital letters, but defaced, is on the lining. From the shape of the characters and the ornament, this stole seems to be of about the reign of Edward III., or the early portion of Richard II. Neither of them widens at the ends, and both are lined with linen.

[58] The difference between the length of the stole in olden and in these our times is very striking. Among all our national ecclesiastical monuments, either in painting or sculpture, from the earliest Anglo-Saxon epoch up to the last days of Queen Mary, there is not one to be found of a priest in his Mass vestments, in which the two ends of the stole are not to be seen falling down some way lower than the chasuble. Now, however, our stoles are made so short that they cannot show the smallest portion of themselves below that garment; so that, looking at a priest when vested for sacrifice, no one could positively say whether or no he had on a stole.

In one of the synodal statutes issued by John, Bishop of Liège (A.D. 1287), this old length of the stole is thus insisted on: Mani-

chasuble of the priest, and the still lower dalmatic of the bishop; if not always, at least sometimes, growing wider in a slight degree at its ends. Often might it be said to be of pure gold; for that precious metal, instead of being wrought into what is now called gold thread, was drawn out into very thin wire, and in this light but solid form was woven, with the help of a very little silk, into a kind of metallic web, leaving at proper intervals bare spaces for the working of the figures of saints, by the needle, (414) or the fastening on of the jewels with which it was many times studded.[59]

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pulus habeat in longitudine sub brachio duos pedes, stola ad minus usque ad paramentum albæ dependeat vel prope extremitatem albæ (Martene, *Thes. Anecd.*, iv. 837). The same is repeated by the decrees of Cambray (Martene, *Vet. Script. et Mon. Ampl. Collect.*, vii. 1298).

Reginald, the monk of Durham, takes notice of the length of the Anglo-Saxon stole, in his description of St. Cuthberht's vestments: Stola super albam et fanone coronatus est, cujus fines ulteriores a pedum parte aliquantulum patent. — *De Admir. S. Cuthberti Virtut.*, p. 87.

[59] Among the vestments found on the body of some high ecclesiastic dug up in Durham Cathedral, A.D. 1829, a stole is undoubtedly of Anglo-Saxon work, and was made at the wish of Ælflaed for Fristhestan the bishop. This we learn from the two inscriptions worked at the ends, but on the inside, of the stole; on one is, "Ælfflaed fieri precepit," on the other, "Pio episcopo Frithestano" (Raine, *St. Cuthbert*, p. 205). "The ground-work of the whole," says this gentleman, "is woven exclusively with thread of gold: I do not mean by thread of gold, the silver-gilt wire frequently used in such matters, but real gold thread, if I may so term it, not round but flat. This is the character of the whole web, with the exception of the figures, &c., for all of which, however surprising it may appear, vacant spaces have been left by the loom, and they themselves afterwards inserted with the needle. The figures are of tapestry work, and the prevalent colour of their

The Stole of St. Cuthbert.

(415) As around the bottom of the bishop's tunicle, so unto both ends of the stole, sometimes little bells [60] of silver used to be fastened, in those

drapery has been crimson, tinged deeply here and there with green; the more prominent parts of the folds are enlivened with threads of gold" (*Ibid.*, pp. 202, 203).

The age of this interesting Anglo-Saxon stole is easily found: Edward the elder's queen was Ælflaed, and at the wish of that king, Frithestan was chosen bishop of the royal city of Winchester, A.D. 905. This sacred ornament is therefore a work of the beginning of the tenth century.

At Aix-la-Chapelle, in the cathedral treasury—the richest of the kind in the world—may be seen a stole and maniple exactly corresponding to the above description, but which, from the style of the figures and the scription under them, I presume to be of the ninth century. That Mr. Raine is wrong in deeming the body which he found (A.D. 1829) to be that of St. Cuthberht, will, I think, be clear to any one who reads Mr. Raine's book; besides this, I was told (A.D. 1838) by the late Bishop Baines, that the body of the saint is still unfound and its resting-place unknown, excepting to a chosen few. Bishop Baines was, in his lifetime, one of those three English Benedictine monks who are successively entrusted with the secret of the spot under which the body of the great St. Cuthberht yet lies buried and hidden in Durham abbey church. A like secret, eight hundred years ago, was kept in a like manner respecting the relics of St. Dunstan, in the church of Glastonbury.—Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. B.*, vii. 696.

[60] There was once kept, as a relic, in the abbey church of Wazor, near Liège, the stole of the Irish bishop St. Forannan, who died (A.D. 982) abbot of that house. The ends of this stole had hanging to them little silver bells: Conservatur etiam in sacrario pene integra cum argenteis tintinnabulis stola ipsius (S. Forannani) sacra (Molanus, *Natales Sanctorum Belgii, dies triges. Aprilis*, fol. 79). Together with many other vestments, the founder of the abbey of Abdinghoff, in Germany, bestowed upon it: Stolæ VI. auro textæ de quibus una XXVII. habuit tintinnabula, alia XXI.—*Voyage Litt. de Deux Bénédictins*, ii. 241.

In Riculf's will (A.D. 915), which Baluze was the first to publish, at the end of his valuable edition of "Regino Prumiensis," we find among the other bequests: Stolas quatuor cum auro, una ex illis cum tintinnabulis, et manipulos sex cum auro, unum ex iis cum tintinnabulis.—*Ut sup.*, p. 626 [*P.L.* cxxxii. 468].

days, (416) there is strong reason for supposing: certain indeed it is that, for ages after the Saxon period, such bells, as well as delicately twisted chains of silver and of gold, having little knobs of the same metals hanging to them, and beautiful silk and golden fringes, knotted fretty-wise, to use a term of heraldry, continued to be sewed to the extremities of our English stole and maniple.[61]

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[61] Stola et manipuli cum ymaginibus et in extremitatibus angeli cum campanulis argenteis.—*Invent. S. Pauli Eccl.*, A.D. 1295, in Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 319.

Stola et manipuli de opere precioso, cum rosis et nodis aureis et argenteis intermixtis, cum nodulis frectatis in extremitatibus de filo auri et argenti.—*Ibid.*, p. 320.

Item amictus, stola et manipulus de opere ad modum perlarum breudati de parvulis nodis cum cathenellis argenteis et bullonibus in limbo.—*Ibid.*

Dedit idem Godefridus (vocatus de Croyland electus in abbatem Burgi, A.D. 1299), unam stolam de rubeo veluto cum minimis campanis et glandibus argenteis et deauratis cum lapidibus in argento impressis desuper consutis. — Walter de Whytleseye, *Cœnobii Burgensis Hist.*, p. 169, ed. Sparke.

In the inventory of vestments belonging to Pope Boniface VIII. (who reigned from A.D. 1294 till 1303), mention is made of "una stola cum frixio Anglicano cum perlis albis et endicis et campanellis. Item stolam et manipulum laboratos ad aurum et sericum rubeum et nigrum, cum perlis grossis et minutis, et XXXII campanellis argenti deaurati clausis."—Garampi, *Del Sigillo della Garfagnana*, p. 86, *nota*.

About the true meaning of the words "tintinnabulum" and "campanula," in the above and such-like documents, I think there can be no doubt: they were intended to signify real little bells, which, in those times, were looked upon as marks of honour and dignity. Even as late as our own second Richard's reign, noblemen appeared at that monarch's court with baldricks thickly studded with golden bells slung across their breast, as may be seen in the illuminations given by Shaw in his *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, vol. i.; and a few years ago I was shown, in the inner sacristy at the great church of Aix-la-Chapelle, an old cope, trimmed at bottom with a row of silver bells, beautifully

(417) The Anglo-Saxon priest did not, as we now do, in vesting for Mass, put on the stole crossed upon the breast, but left it to hang straight down from around the neck,[62] in the way shown by the

made of a slender tapering form, both in shape and size very much resembling the unblown flower of the graceful *Fuchsia fulgens.*

[62] By a decree of the Council of Braga (A.D. 675), the priest was required to wear his stole crossed upon his breast: Non aliter accedere debet ad altare, quam orario utroque humero circumseptus ita ut de uno eodemque orario cervicem pariter, et utrumque humerum premens, signum in suo pectore præferat crucis (cum sacerdos ad solemnia Missarum accedit).—*Concil. Bracaren.* iii., *Can.* 3 [Bruns, ii. 99]. The observations, however, of Pope Innocent III. lead us to presume that when he wrote (A.D. 1198), the Canon of this Celtiberian provincial council had theretofore never been followed in those countries where the Roman use prevailed, for the pontiff says of it: Nisi forte quis dixerit hoc decretum per contrariam ecclesiæ Romanæ consuetudinem abrogatum (*De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*, i. 54) [*P.L.* ccxvii. 794]. Moreover, the same high authority lets us know the exact way in which priests, during those times, used to array themselves with the stole: Stolam quæ alio modo vocatur orarium, super collum sibi sacerdos imponit . . . quæ a collo per anteriora descendens, dextrum et sinistrum latus adornat (*Ibid.*). From both these passages we see, that then the custom of the Roman Church was, that the priest should not fold his stole across the breast. Even years afterwards, Durandus (A.D. 1289), in borrowing—without, as is his wont, any acknowledgment—the words of Pope Innocent, tells us: Nam non ubique partes stolæ reducuntur ante pectus in modum crucis.—*Rationale Divin. Offic.*, iii. 5.

With regard to this land, we find, by Lacy's Pontifical, that the English practice was, at the beginning of the fourteenth century—since the manuscript is of that period—for the bishop, at ordination, to put the sacerdotal stole around the neck of the newly-made priest, and leave it hanging there, without lapping one part over the other, like a cross: *Tunc reflectet* (*episcopus*) *stolam ab humero sinistro super dextrum cujuslibet* (*presbiteri*), *dicens*: Accipe jugum Domini, &c. (*Lacy Pontifical*, 89). Whereas the Roman rubric now enjoins, that the ordaining bishop should cross the stole on the breast of the priest when he gives it to him: Pontifex . . . reflectit orarium sive stolam ab humero sinistro cujus-

smaller figure in the drawing from an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical, given above at p. 299, just as bishops and the members of the older religious orders[63] still continue to wear it at the holy Sacrifice. While nothing exists which can lead us to suppose that St. Osmund made any change in the Saxon rubric upon this point, we have the most undoubted evidence, both written and pictorial, to show, that ever since the end at least of the fourteenth century, the stole has (418) always been borne crossed upon the breast of the priesthood of England when vested for the holy Sacrifice.[64]

libet, capiens partem quæ retro pendet, et imponens super dextrum humerum, aptat eam ante pectus in modum crucis, &c.—*De Ordin. Presbyt.*

[63] Some of the older religious orders, to this day, do not cross the stole upon the breast, but continue to wear as all the clergy wore it in these parts during former days. An evidence of ancient practice among the secular priesthood, and of modern usage followed by some of the regulars, is given us in the description of a tomb of an ecclesiastic, by De Moléon: À la porte de l'église dans le vestibule est une tombe d'un prêtre revêtu de ses habits sacerdotaux, d'une chasuble ronde de tous côtez et non échancrée, relevée sur les bras, faisant une pointe devant et derrière: son manipule n'est pas plus large par le bas que par le haut, de même que l'étole qui n'est point croisée sur la poitrine, mais comme la portent encore les évêques, les Chartreux et les anciens moines de Cluny, qui en cela n'ont point innové.—*Voyages Liturgiques*, 236.

[64] John de Burgo (*c.* A.D. 1385), rector of Collingham, in Nottinghamshire, and sometime Chancellor of Cambridge University, in a far-famed work of his, the *Pupilla Ordi*, tells us: Stola stringens pectus in modum crucis significat quod crucem Christi non debemus erubescere; sed paratos esse pro ejus amore contumelias sustinere.—*De Sig. Missæ*, cap. ix. (fol. xxvii *b.* Argentinæ, 1516).

At the same time (*c.* A.D. 1390), there flourished another celebrated English divine, John Broomyard, or Bromiard, who became a friar of the Order of Preachers. This unflinching opponent of Wyclif's heresy observes, in the *Summa Prædicantium*, while describing the

(419) SECTION VII

The Anglo-Saxon Maniple

was at first, most probably, nothing more than a plain narrow strip of the finest and the whitest (420) linen, more like a napkin than to the present ornament. Very soon, however, it began to be enriched, (421) here,[65] as everywhere else throughout the western parts of the Church;

priest's Mass-vestments: Habet et stolam in collo et ante ad modum crucis cancellatam, in signum quod jugum illius qui in cruce pependit, semper portabit.—*Ibid.*, parte secunda, fol. 338 (Venetiis, 1586).

In the great window at the east end of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, among other fragments of old stained-glass, happily saved by being thus brought together, may be seen a group, consisting of a bride and bridegroom, standing before the priest, who is going through so much of the marriage ceremony as took place at the church door. But as the sacrament of matrimony always ended with the eucharistic sacrifice, the priest is arrayed in part of his Mass-attire, in alb and stole, which he wears crossed upon his breast.

In an illumination which I have, done in England about the middle of the fourteenth century, is shown a winged angel, clothed in alb and amice, both appareled, and wearing a long narrow stole crossed upon his breast.

The library at Buckland House possesses a fine, tall, but in parts sadly stained Salisbury missal. This manuscript is 1 foot $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, 11 inches broad, and 5 inches thick; and I make no doubt was written *c.* A.D. 1395. It now lies open before me, at the richly-illuminated leaf containing the blessing, on Sundays, of the holy water; the capital letter at the beginning of which encloses a priest going through that service, and vested in alb and stole, which is crossed upon the breast,—a wood-cut of it is given a little later, in our notice of the furred almuce (vol. ii., plate 18).

[65] In the latter period of the Anglo-Saxon Church, the maniple, as elsewhere, became ornamented, and instead of mere linen, was made of rich materials. Among the Anglo-Saxon vestments belonging to that epoch, enumerated in a list of Ely Church, we

and if the maniple employed (422) at that time in France may be looked upon as a sample of the Anglo-Saxon one, then was that article of sacerdotal attire often made of the richest golden stuffs, and had, like the stole, not unfrequently an edging of little gold or silver bells hanging tinkling to it.[66]

The maniple was not always worn as we now wear it; for from the figured as well as written documents of ecclesiastical antiquity, we see that, at first, it was held thrown over the outstretched fingers of the left hand;[67] afterwards, it came to be borne as now, fastened on the wrist.[68] The (423) former of these two ways is well shown by the wood-cut given on p. 299 of an Anglo-Saxon priest; and, until a very recent period, there were places

find; vj manipulos cum argentifriso; xv stolas cum manipulis cum aurifriso.—*MS. Cotton, Titus A.* 1, fol. 24^{v}.

Curiously enough, the true, old, simple linen maniple or hand-cloth, for its original purpose of cleanliness, has been sometimes revived. Bishop Grandison, of Exeter, says: Statuimus quod ad missam, sacerdos et diaconus, cum subdiacono, semper parva manutergia in manu teneant ne vestimenta in pectore sordidentur, et ut sudorem tergant. Dum vero vinum et aqua ad calicem vel ad lavandum ministratur, manutergium interponatur et cum sedent, super eorum genua aliquis pannus lineus ad hoc specialiter serviens supponatur.—*Statuta Col. S. Marie de Otery*, in Oliver, *Monast. Devon.*, p. 270, n. 35.

[66] See the extracts from Riculf's will, given just now, note 60, p. 340.

[67] Such is evidently the way in which the maniple is worn by the priest represented in the wood-cut presented to the reader on p. 299. It is likewise shown in our wood-cut of an Anglo-Saxon bishop in his cope, given afterwards, while treating of this latter vesture (vol. ii., plate 7).

[68] See our wood-cut, p. 152.

abroad in which the early manner of carrying the maniple in the hand, was still followed.[69] In latter (424) times, the Anglo-Saxons, as we behold in the illuminations of their manuscripts, wore the maniple as we do now—on the left wrist. Upon this ornament St. Osmund and his Norman fellow-bishops wrought no change; and it is curious to find, that the same trifling varieties, with regard to the ending of both stole and maniple, are identically the same all along the Anglo-Saxon and the English periods of Catholicism in this land.

[69] Writing his travels through Alsace and Lorraine (A.D. 1696), the learned Benedictine, Ruinart, tells us that at Rheims Cathedral, the priest who sang the High Mass went to the altar, carrying his maniple on his finger: sacerdos ad altare accedit fanonem digito portans (*Iter Litt. in Alsat. &c.*, *Ouvrages Posthumes de Mabillon et Ruinart*, iii. 495). A few years later (A.D. 1710), De Vert, referring to this practice at Rheims, lets us know, on the authority of its dean, that besides the handkerchief which he bore on his little finger, the celebrant had the ordinary maniple upon his wrist: En cette église, dit M. Murier, doyen de l'église de Rheims, quand nous célébrons au grand autel, outre le manipule nous portons comme un mouchoir pendant au petit doigt de la main gauche, pour servir de ce que servoit anciennement le manipule (De Vert, *Explic. des Cérém.*, ii. 320). But later still, the maniple was carried, at some functions, in the hand, at the Cathedral of Lyons, where, as De Moléon informs us: Les enfans de chœur chantent les Prophéties le Samedi-saint avec un manipule à la main gauche, c'est-à-dire entre leurs doigts.—*Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 63.

With regard to the practice on this point in Italy, we know that in the twelfth century, when Odericus wrote on the ritual of Sienna, it was the rule in that church that on week days during Lent, the deacon, vested only in an alb, should wear his stole upon the left shoulder, and carry a maniple in his left hand: In Dominicis diebus . . . diaconi et subdiaconi induuntur planetis; in diebus ferialibus tantum camicis albis, et diaconus habet stolam super sinistrum humerum, et manipulum in manu sinistra.—*Ordo Off. Eccl. Senensis*, i. 102, ed. Trombelli, p. 91.

We see that during either epoch, while the more general type of stole and maniple was for them to run quite straight all through, yet every now and then examples are met with showing the ends of both these clerical ornaments widened, sometimes by stopping short and finishing at once in a small oblong square, at others gradually, spreading out like the letter thus written, upside down.

SECTION VIII

The Alb

worn at the divine service by the Anglo-Saxon clergy, was almost exactly the same in form and material as the garment of that name which we of the Catholic priesthood still continue to wear at (425) the Eucharistic sacrifice. If the shape of theirs differed at all from that of ours, it was but very slightly. Perhaps the alb may have been, among them, as we know it was in other parts of the Church during their times, formed after such a fashion, that, by being gathered into short downward plaits just under the sleeves, it sat closer round the waist from being thus narrowed there, while all the lower part was left to its full width and freedom.[70] (426) Though generally of fine linen, the Anglo-Saxon alb was sometimes made

[70] Ruinart thus describes the alb of St. Gerard, Bishop of Toul: Alba nostris fere similis, nisi quod latissima est in inferiori parte, et ei assuta sunt ad extremitates panni pretiosissimi frusta quadratæ figuræ (*Iter Litt. in Alsat. &c., Ouvrages Posthumes*, iii. 485).

from rich silk and ornamented with a peculiar round decoration of gold,[71] (427) which has long

St. Gerard died A.D. 994. Other albs, made narrower in the waist than in the lower parts, and which were of ancient date, are noticed by De Vert: On voit à Senlis l'aube de S. Frambours ou Frambourd, qui vivoit au septième siècle. Cette aube est sans plis et de la forme de celles de Notre Dame de Paris; à cela près qu'elle a des pinces aux deux côtez, ainsi que celle de Saint-Sauve de Montreuil (*Explic. des Cérém.*, ii. 330). In some instances, the narrowness in the waist-part of the alb was made by gathering it there into folds, as we find by the following description of the one said to have belonged to St. Winwaloc: Cum casula adservatur alba ex lino gossipino contexta, qua in sacrificio missæ usus fuisse S. Winwaloëus ex antiqua traditione creditur. Est ea alba qua parte sub axillas utrinque descendit rugata sive striata (*AA. SS. Martii*, i. 249). But not only during the Anglo-Saxon period was the alb thus made smaller in the middle; even years after St. Osmund's time, this robe continued to be so formed; for Honorius of Autun (writing A.D. 1130) says of it: Hæc vestis (alba) in medio coangustatur, in extremo dilatatur, multis in commissuris multiplicatur.—*Gemma Animæ*, i. 202; Hittorp, p. 1231.

[71] Among the several regal gifts made to St. Peter's Church by our Anglo-Saxon king, Æthelwulf, when he took his renowned son, Alfred, to Rome, A.D. 855, were silken albs richly ornamented with gold: Camisa alba sigillata olosyrica cum chrisoclavo (*Liber Pontificalis* 577, *Vita Benedicti III.*, ii. 148). The "alba sigillata" was, I presume, so called from being distinguished by two large circular adornments, wrought of thin beaten gold, or in needlework, and put, one on either side of the lower border of this vestment, just above its ornamented hem, and over that part near the ankles of the wearer. I am led to this opinion by the figures of St. Silvester, St. Athanasius, and St. Gelasius, each vested pontifically, and shown in an engraving of the apse which once crowned the now destroyed oratory dedicated to St. Nicholas, and given by Papebroche in his *Conatus, Propyl. Maji*, p. 208*. From its being a raised round surface, like a seal, this ornament itself came to be named a "sigillum," and the sacrificial robe upon which it had been worked, "alba sigillata," or alb adorned with the seal-ornament.

Such circular enrichments are never seen after the middle of the thirteenth century, and appear to have been quite superseded by the more beautiful "apparel"; and are not found upon our Anglo-Norman monuments, arranged on them as they are upon the mosaics and frescoes of Rome, notwithstanding that, for the first hundred years after St. Osmund's days, small plates of gold were

ceased to be used in any country: but whether of one or other of these stuffs, it was almost always hemmed at bottom with a brightly tinted silken or a golden border.[72]

(428) But if, under the Anglo-Saxons, a stuff so very costly and so rare as silk must have been in their times, was often bestowed upon the alb, this vesture, instead of losing, gained new splendour in the hands of the English of a later period: while linen of the finest quality continued to be, as now, the material of which it was then always made for common use—on great occasions, and in the

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common adornments of our English albs, as a trimming to the lower parts of them. Such albs were called "bullatæ,"—alba bona et bullata ad benedictionem cereæ in vigilia Paschæ.—Gunton, *Peterborough*, p. 288, A.D. 1189.

The fragment of an Anglo-Saxon pontifical in the British Museum, marked *Tiberius C.* 1, has the following rubric for Holy Saturday: Induunt se vestimentis sollempnissimis . . . diaconi dalmaticis, subdiaconi lineis aut sericis albis (*Ordo de die Sabbati, ibid.*). In a venerable manuscript of the "Ordo Romanus," first published by Hittorp, the rubric orders silk albs to be worn by the subdeacons on Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday: Diaconi dalmaticis atque subdiaconi albis sericis induantur (*De Divinis Cathol. Ecc. Officiis*, p. 56). Sacerdotes et levitæ induunt se vestimentis solennissimis . . . diaconi dalmaticis, subdiaconi lineis aut sericis albis (*Ibid.* p. 68). This "Ordo" seems to have been adapted to the usages of the church of Cologne.

Anno MXLV obiit Brithwoldus, episcopus Salesbirriensis. Hic misit albam de serico pretiosissimam, &c.—Gulielmus Malmesburiensis, *De Antiq. Glaston. Eccl.*, ed. Gale, iii. 325.

Among the ornaments of the Anglo-Saxon minster of Ely, noted down for plunder by the Norman visitors, were: Octo albas; una est de serico cum aurifriso et cum amictu.—*MS. Cotton, Titus A.* 1, fol. 24v.

[72] The alb worn by the celebrant in our wood-cut, p. 152, from St. Æthelwold's Benedictional, has a wide golden hem below, running all around it.

larger churches, it was to be seen formed, not only entirely of silk,[73] but sometimes even of velvet and

[73] Quinque albas de serico et sextam lineam pallio paravit de auro (Wibertus Prior monasterii S. Benedicti de Holm, 1153–1167) [*Inventories of Christ Church, Cant.*, p. 44].

Radulfus, Bishop of Rochester (A.D. 1114), gave, besides chasubles and copes, to that church: Albam pretiosam cum amictu lapidibus pretiosis inserto (*Anglia Sacra*, ii. 342). Doubtless this and every such alb was made of something more costly than linen, though of the finest texture, and may have been of some rich silk, as was an alb presented to the Church of Ely (A.D. 1197) by William de Longo-Campo: Dedit ecclesiæ suæ unam albam de serico, &c.—*Ibid.* 633.

A part of the "bona que Willelmus sacrista, &c., contulit ecclesie Sireburne," about the middle of the twelfth century, were: XII. albas quarum una est de diaspre et habet paruram cum leunculis et grifonibus auro brusdatis. Alia de puro serico . . . quarta de bukeram, &c., on a fly-leaf at the end of the Sherborne Abbey "Cartularium," in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart. This "bukeram," at that period, meant the finest kind of linen.

Abbot Benet (A.D. 1184) gave to his church of Peterborough, besides "quinque albas lineas"—tres albas de serico optime brusdatas cum rubris paraturis, &c. (*Swaphamus*, in *Hist. Anglic. Scriptores*, ed. Sparke, p. 100); and another abbot, Richard of London, presented (about the year 1270) to the same minster: Unam albam de rubeo samito cum ymaginibus stantibus aurifragiatis, cum stola et manipulo de eodem samito, &c.—Walter de Whytleseye, *ibid.* p. 148.

In the year 1222, the Cathedral of Salisbury had eight silk albs: albe viij, de serico.—Wordsworth, *Salisb. Cerem.*, 174.

Among the ornaments belonging (A.D. 1321) to Canterbury Cathedral, there were under the head:

Albæ de Serico In Vestiario.

Albe .xiiij de panno diasperato cum paruris brudatis.
Item—Alba una de albo samicto cum paruris brudatis.
Item—Alba una Symonis de Sancto Paulo de sindone, cum paruris brudatis de hystoria Sancti Thome.
Item—Alba Stephani de Ikham de sindone, &c.
Item—Quinque Albæ de serico plano, &c.
Alba Sancti Thome de serico.

Summa Albarum de serico, .xxiij.

Albe de Lineo panno, &c.

—[*Inventories of Ch. Ch. Canterbury*, p. 58]. In the above list of albs, it is curious to find mentioned every kind of silk known at that time in England.

(429) cloth of gold.[74] But this was not all; for though white was of course its usual colour, yet do we find (430) a green, or blue, or red, or black

One alb of white silk, with orfers of red.—Gunton, *Hist. of Peterborough*, p. 63.

In the "Inventory" of Winchester Cathedral given in to Cromwell, Henry VIII.'s vicar, were noted down: Twelve albes of silk. Item, of linen albes belonging to the sextre and other altars, 326 (Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, i. 202). Belonging to the Lady chapel were: Thirteen albes, and three of them white silk.—*Ibid.*, p. 203.

It would seem that these silk albs were sometimes made out of differently coloured pieces of silk, or, as it is now called, patchwork: for it will be hard to understand in any other sense these following notices: Simon Saucier claudus monachus dedit (ecclesiæ Roffensi) x albas consutas de serico.

Robertus de Hoo monachus dedit II albas de serico consutas.—Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, p. 125.

Only a few years ago, silk albs were, on some few occasions, still worn in parts of France. De Moléon speaks of the yellow silk appareled robe used by the celebrant on Good Friday at the Cathedral of Angers: Le célébrant a au lieu d'aube une grande robe d'étoffe de soye jaune (le Vendredi-Saint) au bas de laquelle il y a devant et derrière une broderie semblable à une parure d'aube (*Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 95). Un chanoine ayant un amict paré sur la téte et une autre grande robe d'étoffe de soye jaune avec la ceinture, semblable à celle ci-dessus . . . chante les paroles de notre Seigneur (*ibid.*, p. 96). These great robes were nothing but albs made of silk, as the olden custom was, on particular occasions. Albs of silk are still worn by the Greek Church: Li Greci sogliono usare li camici non di lino, ma di seta e di varii colori, tra li quali il colore celeste è il più comune, particolarmente li vescovi.—Bonanni, *La Gerarchia Ecclesiastica*, p. 182.

[74] Radulfus monachus noster dedit (ecclesiæ Roffensi) albam de pilo cum amictu suo lapidibus pretiosis inserto (Thorpe, *Regist. Roffense*, p. 119). May not this alb, accompanied as it was by such a splendid apparel to its amice, have been made of some costly stuff, the nap or pile of which was, like velvet, very rich?

Una casula de rubeo welweto brodata cum M coronatis, cum alba de welweto brodata cum IHC.—*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, Appendix, ann. 1446, p. cclxxxvi.

v olde aulbes, one of redd velvet wrought w^t^ roses and leves enbrodered, &c.

One olde aulbe of blewe of Saint Thomas, wo^r^sted.

alb to have been occasionally worn; and albs were not called by (431) the name of one or the other of these dyes because their apparels only were of that colour, but because they were tinted throughout red, blue, or green, as the case might be.[75]

One olde aulbe of whyte velvyt wrought and enbrodered w^t^ redd roses and imagerey.

—*Inventory of the ornaments belonging unto the Churche of the Priorye of St. Martyne, Dover, in the xxvij yere of Henry VIII.* Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, iv. 542.

There were no fewer than "Thirty albs of old cloth of bawdkyn," that is, cloth of gold, at Peterborough.—*Gunton*, p. 59.

By the usages of the Cluniac monks, an alb of cloth of gold was worn by the priest who sang high Mass on the greater festivals: Ab eodem hebdomadario sal et aqua consecratur nisi forte sit in illis festis quando alba deaurata induitur, tunc enim alius pro eo stola munitus facit consecrationem.—Martene, *De Antiq. Monach. Rit.*, lib. i., cap. iii. § 4 (*Op.*, iv. 46).

[75] In exequiis Galfridi Episcopi habuit ecclesia (Dunelmensis) . . . unam nigram casulam spissam, et unam albam nigram cum minutis lineis aureis; stolam et manipulam nigras eodem modo lineatas.—*Wills, &c., of the Northern Counties* (Surtees Soc.), i. 2. Bishop Galfrid died A.D. 1140.

x albæ brudatæ . . . . duæ samete, una rubea, et altera nigra, cum largis orariis deauratis, duæ nigræ brudatæ quæ dicuntur sandales.—*Ibid.*, p. 3.

Una casula de rubeo samette, cum largis orariis et multis magnis lapidibus preciosis, in qua celebratur in Die Palmarum . . . . et una rubea alba brudata.—*Ibid.*, p. 5.

Sextum (vestimentum) de uno panno Sarracenio . . . et j alba de odem (eodem?) . . . Item, iij albæ de uno panno aureo indici coloris cum ramis arborum et floribus et aviculis super ramos et flores comedentes.—*Ibid.*, p. 13.

Dedit abbas Alexander (A.D. 1226) duodecim albas quarum una est brusdata, cujus campus niger (Swapham, *Coen. Burg. Hist.*, ed. Sparke, p. 114). However odd the term may sound, black albs were used, in the Roman liturgy, up to a recent period. In that highly curious and valuable work, *Sacerdotale ad consuetudinem S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, we find a rubric for Good Friday which orders thus: Paratur etiam sacerdos *omnibus* paramentis et pluviali desuper cum diacono et subdiacono cum dalmaticis nigri coloris. Parantur etiam quatuor sacerdotes vel duo ad minus induti camisiis

(432) Though there cannot now be found any rubric, either in the Salisbury or the other of our old (433) English Uses, showing exactly how these beautiful silken albs were anciently worn, yet, if it may be (434) guessed from illuminations in manuscripts, the practice was to put them on

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nigris, cum amictu et cingulo eiusdem coloris si haberi possunt.—pp. 240ᵛ, 241 (*Venetiis*, 1564).

When Richard Poor, Bishop of Durham, died (A.D. 1237), his church had at his burial, beside other vestments given it: ij albas, unam nigram brudatam cum vinea in qua sedent aves; et aliam de serico non brudatam.—*Wills, &c., ut sup.*, p. 5.

At the suppression of Peterborough monastery, there were found belonging to it:

Red albs for Passion-week, 27.
Forty blue albs of divers sorts.
Six albs with Peter-keys.
One old alb richly embroidered.
Eight albs with apparels of cloth of gold.
Eight albs with apparels of blue tissue.
Eight albs embroidered with vines.
Thirty albs of old cloth of bawdkyn (cloth of gold).
Fourteen green albs with counterfeit cloth of gold.
Four albs, called ferial white.
Four albs, called ferial black.
Seven and twenty albs to be worn on single feasts.—Gunton, *Peterborough*, p. 59.
One alb of needlework.
One alb of white silk with orfers of red.
One vestment of blue camlet with moons and harts, with one alb of the same.—*Ibid.*, p. 63.

In Holy Week, the deacons, according to the old rubrics of the Ambrosian liturgy, which is still kept up at Milan, wore red albs: Minor diaconus alba rubea indutus legit primam lectionam de Job, &c. Et tertius diaconus ascendit pulpitam alba rubea indutus. —Beroldus, *Ordo et Cerem. Ecc. Ambros. Mediol.* [ed. Magistretti, p. 101 (Milan, 1894)]. Beroldus wrote A.D. 1130.

Ordinarioli etiam vicissim portant albam rubeam et baculum.—*In diebus Letaniarum, ibid.*, 533.

Beroldus also speaks of another kind of alb: Subdiaconus rivestitus alba occulata, &c.—*Ibid.*, p. 462.

immediately over an appareled alb of linen.[76] As will be readily supposed, these rich albs of silk, or cloth of gold, were brought forth and used upon the higher festivals and more solemn functions only.

SECTION IX

The trimmings, woven of gold and of richly coloured silks, or wrought with the needle and sewed around the cuffs and all about the lower hem of the alb,[77] were kept in use almost

[76] A small but beautiful "Book of Hours," a manuscript of the fifteenth century, in the Bodleian, *Douce* 30, has, at the Office for the Dead, an illumination, showing the whole ceremony of letting the corpse down into the grave. The celebrant is a priest, and is vested in an usual white linen alb with green apparels: over this, however, he wears another alb, not quite so long as the under one, and made of some rich stuff all green, most likely silk, with golden flowers worked upon it; above this he has on a dark blue cope.

[77] That our old English albs used to be so hemmed all around the sleeve-cuffs, and at bottom, with needlework, or other kind of ornament in coloured silk and gold, may very soon be shown. The fragments of what Mr. Raine mistakes for "bracelets" in his description of the vestments (*St. Cuthbert*, p. 209) found on the body of some unknown bishop, whom he erroneously imagined to be St. Cuthberht's very self, are nothing else than the ornamental edging which was sewed around each cuff of the alb in which the corpse had been arrayed at its burial.

It is true that Æthelstan made an offering of a pair of golden bracelets at the shrine of St. Cuthberht; but along with them he bestowed other presents to that saint's church. These gifts were of two kinds—sacred and secular: sacred, such as vestments which became the Church to employ at her religious celebrations: secular, and of that sort fitting a king, and a warlike one, to leave as memorials of himself. These garments for the ministers of the sanctuary are mentioned first, but no bracelets appear in the list. The weapons and adornments of a warrior are grouped by themselves in the second place, where, last of all, and just after

a century (435) and a half beyond the Anglo-Saxon period.[78] But at length these ornaments under-

"two banners and one lance," come the above-mentioned "two bracelets of gold." Anybody who knew what the rich adornments of Anglo-Saxon princes were, would never dream that two strips of ribbon, "nine inches in circumference," and in "breadth seven-eighths of an inch," the two component parts of which are a flattish thread of pure gold, and a thread of scarlet silk (*Ibid.*, p. 209), had ever been passed off by a wealthy and powerful Anglo-Saxon king, and chronicled by an Anglo-Saxon writer, as "two bracelets of gold." When a private Anglo-Saxon individual bequeathed to his prince "aenne beah on hund eahtotigan mancysan goldes," a bracelet worth a hundred and eighty mancuses of gold (Byhrtric's will, given by Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, p. 25), we cannot bring ourselves to think that an Anglo-Saxon king would have laid such a mean gift as a piece of silk ribbon, by way of a royal bracelet, upon the shrine of so great a national saint as St. Cuthberht. The armil, or bracelet, was looked upon by the Anglo-Saxons as one among the badges of royalty. Of Guthred it was thus revealed in vision to Abbot Eadred: Posita in brachio ejus dextro armilla in regnum constituatur (Simeon in *Hist. de Dunelm. Eccl.* ii. 13 [*R.S.* lxxv. i. 69]); and those which Æthelstan gave to Durham were no doubt meant, along with his lance and banners, to be a lasting token of that king's devotion to St. Cuthberht, and a monument of the regal visit to that holy bishop's relics. Those bracelets were to hang, amid so many other votive gifts, around the altar, and not intended to be worn by the priests who officiated at it. Sometimes a wealthy thane, too, would hang his spear, strung with a number of these gold bracelets, by the altar: Adhulphus obtulit S. Petro hastam plenam armillis, &c. (*Ex Lib. Hugonis Mon. Petro*, in Leland, *Collect.*, i. 6); but this was done out of devotion, and to adorn the holy of holies.

Not only kings, but great men, soldiers, and ladies of rank, among the Anglo-Saxons, wore bracelets of solid gold. Speaking in general terms of that people's dress, William of Malmesbury tells us: Tunc erant Angli vestibus ad medium genu expediti, . . . armillis aureis brachia onerati (*Gesta Reg. Anglorum*, lib. iii. [§ 245. *R.S.* xc. ii. 305]), and in another part of that work, the same monastic writer tells us, that the beautiful ship which Earl Godwin gave to Hardecnut, had in it: Octoginta milites qui haberent in brachiis singulis armillas duas, unamquamque sedecim unciarum auri, &c. (*Ibid.*, ii. [§ 188 *R.S.* xc. i. 229]). The form, the richness of the pure gold, the workmanship, bestowed by the

went no little (436) alteration: though still retained, they were very much narrowed, and along with

Anglo-Saxons upon their favourite bracelets, may be seen from those found in such numbers, a few years ago, at Cuerdale, Lancashire, and described and figured in the *Archæological Journal*, iv. 113.

At an early period, indeed, those rich golden armils, of which the leaders and the great men in all northern countries were then so fond, as marks of honour and authority, became adopted as sacred ornaments by the clergy of Gaul; and the priest who was fully arrayed for solemnising the eucharistic mysteries there, wore about his wrists a pair of these glittering bracelets, made of gold or silver. Towards, however, the sixth century, and maybe sooner, the custom was, instead of such adornments wrought of the precious metals, and so costly, to put on cuffs made of silk, or of any other texture less expensive, but still as beautiful as his means could afford. This we learn from a very valuable liturgic work written, as it would seem, about the year 550, wherein the author says: Manualia vero, id est manicas induere sacerdotibus mos est instar armillarum quas regum vel sacerdotum brachia constringebantur. Ideo autem ex quolibet pretioso vellere non metalli duritia extant, vel ut omnes communiter sacerdotes, etiam minoris dignitatis in sæculo facilius inveniant.—*Expositio Brevis*, in Martene, *Thes. Anecd.*, v. 99.

If the ritual observances of our Britons were like those of their nearest neighbour, Gaul—and there is every reason for thinking so—then do we, far off as we are from their times, catch a glimpse of another among the sacred appurtenances of a priest in the British era of our Church history; and, beholding him vested for the holy sacrifice of the Mass, we shall perceive that, along with the fine, full chasuble (see note 61, p. 211), he wore a kind of apparel on the sleeves of his alb.

Cuffs of this sort are still to be found in use among the Greeks, who call them ἐπιμανίκια (Goar, *Rituale Græcorum*, pp. 59, 111); and when in Greece, A.D. 1837, I saw them. Those made for priests were of crimson silk, embroidered all over with gold. They are drawn over the sleeve of the alb, or, as the Greeks term that garment, the tunic; and being five or six inches deep, they reach very nearly half-way up from the wrist to the elbow.

But if, as we see above, the priesthood of Gaul had laid aside the use of the armil, even many years before our Anglo-Saxons were brought to believe in Christ, it cannot for a moment be thought probable that, as late as Æthelstan's reign, the practice, for either

them was put (437) another and a more elaborate and artistic kind of adornment, called—

priests or bishops, was to bear the golden armil, or bracelets, about their wrists when they went to the altar. There is not a tittle of evidence to show, indeed, that any such adornment had ever been employed by the Anglo-Saxon Church; much less that its use lingered so long among them when it had been everywhere else abandoned. But to get back to the ornamental needlework round the cuff-sleeves of the alb.

Another, and probably a later specimen than this Durham one, of such a kind of decoration upon this graceful linen garment, is furnished by the Wensley brass, of which a small but well-executed wood-cut we gave just now, at p. 266. In that truly precious monument of bygone days we observe that a narrow ornamental hem runs all around the lower part of the priest's alb, and is only broken by the beautiful apparel hanging above it. Had the under part of the sleeve-cuffs been shown in this fine brass, it would have, no doubt, let us see the same sort of binding there, besides the apparel, as that which we behold below. Most likely our albs, as well as surplices and all other articles made of linen, for the use of the Church, were ornamented with elaborate care all round, both above and below, with needlework done mostly in blue thread. The surplices on the canons sitting in choir, of which we have given, as a frontispiece to the second volume of this work, an etching from the original illumination in the splendid Book of Hours, done for our Richard II., and now in the British Museum (*Cotton, Domit.* xvii.), show, minutely marked in pink, the pattern of the needlework wrought all about their upper and lower parts. In the same illumination, the young clerk (probably an acolyte) who is seen to the right, kneeling, and holding up before the bishop a collectarium, out of which that prelate is singing the collect, is vested in a girdled alb, the neck of which is worked like the canons' surplices.

"Gaufridus de Tunebregge fecit albam circumdatam de pallio optimo, et stolam et phanam de aurifriso, que sunt in principalibus festis.—Thorpe, *Regist. Roffense*, p. 121.

Quedam matrona de Wintonia . . . dedit duas albas cum nigris paruris que parure circumdant totam albam.—*Ibid.*, p. 123.

Unam albam . . . cum platys deauratis circa fimbriam, cum parvis perlis diversi coloris stipatis, &c. (*Wills of the Northern Counties*, i. 13). This alb was part of Anthony Beck's chapel ornaments when he died, A.D. 1310.

(438) Apparels.

These were a certain species of small ornaments stitched on to the upper part of the amice, like a (439) collar to it, and, cut into a square or oblong shape, fastened by various ways at different places on the (440) alb. These apparels upon amice and alb were, in general, of the same colour as the vestment along with which those robes were worn,[79] and to them they were thought, by liturgical writers, to lend a most becoming beauty.[80] Apparels were of three sorts: some were merely pieces of the self-same (441) tissue of which the chasuble had been made;[81a] others

[79] During Catholic times it was the ecclesiastical custom, in this country, for every set of vestments to have its own albs especially belonging to it, and of course ornamented with apparels of a fitting kind. In the Churchwardens' Accompts (A.D. 1552) of Stanford-in-the-Vale, Berks, and of which I possess a transcript, there are noticed: Inprimis a cope of Redd ueluett. & a pyllow.

It. a cope & shutte of vestmentis for the prest, dyacon, and subdiacon, of blew satten, with ther albes.

It. a cope of bawdekyns, with a shute of vestmentis for the prest, dyacon, or subdiacon, of the same with ye albs.

It. one olde vestment of many cullers of nedullworke with thappũtenaunce. Nõt. ij of the albes were stolne.—*Ibid.*, fol. iii.

Moreover: A chesable with two tunicles, three albes, and all their apparel.

Item two copes of the same suit,—

are common items in our English lists of vestments. See Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1290, &c.

[80] See note 88.

[81a] The distinction between the apparels of mere plain silk, and those that were embroidered, is carefully noted in the Canterbury list of vestments (taken A.D. 1321): Summa Albarum de lino cum paruris brudatis liij. . . . . cum paruris consutis et textis xxviij. —[*Invent. of Ch. Ch. Canterbury*, p. 60.]

were formed of some rich stuff, of silk, or cloth of gold, and adorned with needlework after an elaborate but befitting design; the third, and most beautiful, the storied kind, exhibited the figures of saints, and passages from the New Testament, done in embroidery.[81b]

[81b] Our English apparels were often storied with subjects out of Holy Writ and passages from the lives of the saints. Godfrey (chosen Abbot of Peterborough A.D. 1299) gave to that minster: Quinque albas, quarum paruræ sunt de rubeo samito cum ymaginibus, clavibus, et rosis ex aurifragio bene brudatis. Item xi albas cum amitis quarum paruræ sunt de panno de Turky quæ quasi aurum resplendent. Item i albam optimam cum amite, cujus paruræ sunt de rubeo veluto cum ymaginibus et arboribus de argento deaurato; similiter cum lapidibus magnis in argento positis et eisdem artificiose impressis. Item unam albam cum amite, cum paruris de serico consutis, cum ymaginibus aurifragiatis bene brudatis. Item i albam cum amite cum paruris de serico consutis, cum ymaginibus passionis Jesu Christi nobilissime brudatis.—Walter de Whytleseye, *Cœnob. Burg. Hist.* in Sparke, p. 168.

Una alba cum toto apparatu bene breudato, cum ymaginibus coronationis beatæ Virginis anterius; et ymaginibus Baptistæ, Petri, et Pauli, a leva; et Magdalenæ, Catherinæ, Margaretæ; et a parte posteriori, Trinitatis, cum tribus angelis ad levam; et Thomæ, et Stephani, et Laurentii, ad dextram, &c.

Item una alba cum parura breudata anterius cum ymaginibus beatæ Mariæ, Margaretæ, Magdalenæ, Katherinæ, et S. Fidis; et a parte posteriori cum ymagine Salvatoris, Petri, Pauli, Andrei, et Bartholomei (A.D. 1295, in Dugdale, *Hist. of S. Paul's*, p. 321). j alba cum passione Beatæ Katerinæ Virginis brudata.—*Wills of the Northern Counties*, i. 37.

Dedit unam albam cujus campus aureus est, continentem Salutationem Virginis, Nativitatem Christi, cum apparicione angeli ad pastores ex una parte, Adoracionem trium regum et Purificationem beatæ Virginis ex altera.—Johannes Glastoniensis, *Hist.*, p. 271.

Up to the end of Mary's reign we find these beautiful storied apparels were in use; for by his will (A.D. 1557) Sir John Assum, priest, bequeaths: An awlbee with fañels of gold, with imagery

(442) Upon the alb, these apparels were always four, very seldom less than six in number, of which the (443) two smaller square ones were sewed one at the end of each sleeve, just above the back of the hand; the other two at the lowermost part of the skirts, one before, just over the insteps,[82] the

work upon the same awlbee, &c.—Bennet, *Hist. of Tewkesbury*, p. 184.

Sometimes our English apparels were heraldic: Duæ paruræ pro albis de una secta, gobonatis de armis et lozingis bluettis, de perlis in auro.—*Registrum Vestim.* &c. *Cap. Reg. infra Castrum de Wyndesore*, A.D. 1385; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1366.

The apparels to the albs bequeathed to the church of Winchester, by Cardinal Beaufort, must have been extremely beautiful: One cope of needlework wrought with gold and pearls; one chysible . . . and parel of the albes of the same work.—*An Inventory of the Cath. Church of Winchester*, *Ibid.* i. 202.

[82] Our wood-cut of the Wensley brass, p. 266, that of Bishop Giffard, p. 306, and those further on, in illustration of the papal tiara and archiepiscopal pall, show the lower apparel of the alb very well, as worn in this country. The accompanying wood-cut, from fol. 178 of Giunta's edition (A.D. 1520) of the Roman pontifical, lets us see how the lower front apparel was placed by the Italians.

other behind, at the heels of the wearer; and besides these, which were oblong squares, very often other two, of the same shape (444) and size,

How the Apparel was worn on the Breast of the Alb.[83]

were hung, one in front upon the breast, the second on the back, between the shoulders.

These upper apparels on the alb have been very little, if at all, spoken of by liturgical authors abroad, and are quite unknown to any of those who at home have written upon our national ecclesiastical antiquities. To (445) help the reader therefore in understanding whereabout the lower

[83] Beginning from the right hand, the first kneeling figure, clad in a surplice, is a master of ceremonies; next him, a deacon, about to be ordained priest, kneels, vested in an alb, upon the breast of which, just under the transverse, or diaconal stole, is seen the higher front apparel; close to this deacon we behold a subdeacon, whose alb likewise shows the same breast-apparel (*Giunta Pontifical*, f. 16 v).

as well as the higher of these ornaments were put, and to let him see how they were all, at times,

How the Apparel was worn on the back of the Alb.[84]

[84] This wood-cut, borrowed from fol. 17 v of the before-named book, in the bending posture of the deacon about to be made priest, exhibits the upper hind apparel on the alb between the shoulders, indicated by the square ornament beneath the stole.

That our old English use was often to wear, not merely four, but even six apparels—one on each sleeve, one before, another behind at bottom, and one upon the breast, one on the back of the alb—is clearly pointed out to us by several national documents. From the same source, too, we learn that these various appendages had here, in this country, each its own distinctive name: those which ornamented the lower part of the alb were more especially called the apparels (*paruræ*); the ones on the wrists, *maniculæ*, or cuffs; the two on the higher part of this vesture were denominated *spaulæ* and *spatulariæ*, or shoulder-pieces.

Paruræ.

Item duæ paruræ, una stola, una fanona poudrata cum auro et perlis et lapidibus pretiosis in auro, cum spaulis duabus, et maniculis de eadem secta.—(*Windsor Register*, A.D. 1385, in Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.* viii. 1366.)

But earlier than this we find the same ornaments mentioned in an inventory of the things belonging (A.D. 1295) to St. Paul's Cathedral, London: vestimenta cum alba, amicta, stola, fanone,

worn hanging, rather than stitched on to that robe, the accompanying wood-cuts are set before his eyes.

How the Apparels were hung.[85]

spatulariis, et manicularìis, &c. (Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, App. 335). Alba cum stola et manipulo et humeralibus paruris de opere Saracenico, et parura amictus ejusdem sectæ.—*Ib.*, 330.

[85] These two figures of a subdeacon in his appareled alb are taken from Bonanni, *Gerarchia Ecclesiastica*, published at Rome A.D. 1720. The higher apparels seems to have been pinned upon the alb, and from them hang (by flat and somewhat wide embroidered ribbons, held fast down by the girdle) the lowermost apparels. By the way in which he speaks of them, it is certain such ornaments were still used by the Dominican and Franciscan orders at the beginning of the last century, when Bonanni wrote his interesting work, for he says : Quì basti riflettere agli ornamenti che anche si aggiungono nelle estremità delle maniche, e nelle parti anteriori e posteriori delli camisci sotto il ginocchio usati da alcuni religiosi particolarmente Dominicani, e Francescani detti dell' osservanza. Li quali ornamenti quì esposti . . . si chiamano volgarmente . . . *Parata*, &c.—*Ut supra*, p. 178.

(446) Whether, in Catholic times, the lower apparels were, among the English, ever worn suspended (447) after thè above or any other manner, along with the alb, I think very doubtful: not so, however, respecting the ones upon the breast and the back. Many an illuminated manuscript shows that, on the Continent, these higher apparels, linked together by broad flat bands made of the same colour and stuff as they, and of the proper length, or by two thick golden cords, were slung on, like a short scapular, so that each apparel fell into its right place, the one in front, immediately upon the chest, and the other behind, just between the shoulders.[86] That such was our old English practice, too, is clear from some passages in a very curious and precious theological work on the Commandments, where the writer, while teaching us what beautiful symbolic meanings may be found in the sacred vestments, takes occasion to speak of a bishop's mitre, the two lappets of which he calls tongues; and goes on to say, that over the shoulders of every priest's alb there are also to be seen two tongues.

> "The myter on the byshops heed with the hornes betokeneth cūnyng of the two testamentes, old and new, which counnyng he ought to have & to (448) teache with

[86] In the copy of an illumination representing the fall of Jericho, these higher apparels, hung by golden cords, are well displayed on the persons of the Levites who are robed as Christian deacons, as may be seen in Bastard's gorgeous work, *Peintures et Manuscrits depuis le 8ième jusqu'à la fin du 16ième siècle.*

two tounges, with toungue of dede and toungue of speeche, and shewe theym bothe in dede by good example gyvynge, and in speche well teachyng, and that betokeneth the two tongues hangynge behynde on the myter. And the same betoken the two tongues hangyng behynde on the aube on the priestis shulder.—These two tongues hange higher on the byshoppe than on the symple prest, in token that the byshop is more highly bounde to the tounges of good example and good teachynge than the symple prieste. *Div.*—It is a common saw that the two tounges on the prestes shulder betoken, that this lond hath been twyes renegate and peruerted. *Paup.*—That is false. For syth this londe toke fyrst the fayth, the people was never renegate," &c.[87]

Now unless this good old English divine wished us, by these two tongues, to understand the two above-mentioned flat bands running over the shoulders and down some little way upon the back, there would have been no meaning in his words, no room for a comparison between the tongue-like ornaments of the priest's alb upon the shoulders, and such appendages to the bishop's mitre.

The apparels on the alb are particularly spoken (449) of by Pope Innocent III.,[88] and the words

[87] A compendiouse treatyse, or dialoge, of *Dives* and *Pauper*, That is to say, the ryche and the poore, &c. Imprinted in Flete-strete by me, Thomas Berthelet, 1536.—*The Eyght Commaund.*, cap. viii. fol. 288.

[88] Quod autem aufrigium habet (alba) et gemmata est in diversis locis, et variis operibus ad decorem, illud insinuat, quod Propheta dicit in psalmo: Astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate (Innocent III., *De Sac. Altaris Mysterio*, i. 51, [*P.L.* ccxvii. 793]). That the alb must have been rendered particularly precious as well as beautiful, by these apparels, is evident from the way in which even grave historians have spoken

of that supreme pontiff receive their best illustration from a set of splendid storied apparels, found upon the alb around the body of another sovereign pontiff, Boniface VIII., whose grave in St. Peter's at Rome was opened, and an accurate account of his vestments taken by an eye-witness, A.D. 1605.[89]

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of them: Adelina quoque, uxor Rogerii de Bellomonte albam, aurifrasio copiose ornatam, Uticensibus contulit, qua indutus sacerdos præcipuis in solemnitatibus missam celebrare consuescit. —Ordericus Vitalis, *Eccl. Hist.*, vi. [*P.L.* clxxxviii. 460].

[89] Alba, quæ et camisum dicitur, erat ex tela subtili Cameracensi cum fimbriis ante et post tibias, necnon ad manus et pectus, quæ fimbriæ ante et post tibias singula ipsarum habet in longitudine palmos tres cum dimidio, in latitudine palmum unum, in quibus auro et serico acu pictæ (ut vulgo dicitur riccamo) infrascriptæ habentur historiæ. In fimbria ante tibias sunt in primo ordine historiæ Annunciationis, Visitationis, Nativitatis, Apparitionis Angelorum ad pastores, Quando Magi veniunt Hierosolymam, Quando loquuntur cum Herode, Adoratio Magorum, et Cum Angelus admonet illos, ut revertantur per aliam viam. In secundo ordine ejusdem fimbriæ habentur Consiliun. Herodis super occisione Innocentium, Occisio subsequuta; Apparitio, ut Joseph fugiat in Ægyptum; Fuga subsequuta; Obitus Herodis; Circumcisio Domini; Disputatio inter Doctores et Cum invenitur a Matre, Fili quid fecisti nobis sic? In fimbria vero retro tibias, Consilium sacerdotum, ut caperent Jesum; Captura Christi et amputatio auriculæ; Flagellatio Christi; Bajulatio crucis; Crucifixio; Obitus in cruce, et militis percussio; Sepultura; et Resurrectio. In secundo ordine, Descensus ad inferos; Noli me tangere; Valde mane una sabbatorum; tres aliæ historiæ Resurrectionis, Quando dicit Thomæ, Infer digitum tuum huc, et Ascensio in cœlum; quas tres historias subter corpus positas excipere non valui. Alba longa erat usque ad pedes, et in pectore aderat fimbria cum imagine Annunciationis (*Ex Grimaldo in MS. Lib. Authent. Instrum. in Basil. S. Petri Tabulario existenti ex autographo exscriptum*, in Dionysius, *Sacr. Vatic. Basil. Crypt. Monumenta*, p. 128). In this learned and well-illustrated work by Dionigi, the liturgist will find many a specimen of the fine old flowing chasuble shown on the effigies of the Roman pontiffs. Pope Boniface VIII. died A.D. 1303; his grave was opened A.D. 1605; and Grimaldi was officially present.

(450) By a well-understood, though unwritten, rule in the ancient ritual of this country, the custom was not to use appareled albs and amices during the mournful and penitential seasons of the year, nor at particular ceremonies;[90] but this exception only (451) shows that those garments were always so adorned at every other time.

(452) That the apparels continued to be used here in England until the end of her national

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[90] Sacerdos ad altare accessurus ut divinum celebret officium, amictum sumat pro tempore paratum aut non paratum, &c.—Johannes de Garlandia, *De Vestimentis Sacerdotalibus*, MS. 385, in Biblioth. Coll. Caij, Cantab.

III albæ sine paruris pro altaribus abluendis (Thorpe, *Regis. Roff.* 241). These albs were worn by the priest, deacon, and subdeacon, at the ceremony of washing each altar in the church of Cobham College, on Maundy Thursday, according to the rite of Salisbury.

The Use of Sarum forbade apparels to be upon the albs worn on Good Friday, either by the celebrant and his ministers: Qui omnes sint albis cum amictibus tantum sine paruris induti; or by the two priests who upheld the cross: Duo presbyteri . . . nudatis pedibus et albis induti absque paruris tenentes crucem coopertam, &c.—*Missale Sarum*, 316, 328; *Processionale*, 69.

The apparel was an accessory, not a necessary part of the alb and amice: the reader will hence perceive that Mr. Maskell is wrong in his description of the amice as "a square piece of linen embroidered (or appareled, as it was technically termed) upon one edge."—*Monumenta Rit.*, iii. p. 25 [ii. 26], note 37.

It must not be imagined that apparels were embroidered upon the alb, or the amice itself, which, being in general made of linen, often needed to be washed. Water would have spoiled the first time it touched the coloured silk, the cloth of gold, the velvet, the beautiful needlework of any apparel; hence it was an ornament by itself, and sewed on to the alb and amice so as to be easily taken off again when requisite. In the curious Churchwardens' Accompts of St. Mary's, Sandwich, we find this notice: "For washing of an obe and an amice, and for sowing on the parelles of the same, vd."—Boys, *Hist. of Sandwich*, p. 364.

Catholicism, is evident from the symbolic meaning given to such ornaments by Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, who, in his admirable sermons published in the very last year of injured Mary's reign, says: "And as Christe was crowned with thorne and had his handes and feete nayled to the crosse, so in the amysse and albe of the priest there be tokens of these fyve woundes." [91]

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[91] *Holsome and Catholyke doctryne concerninge the seven Sacramentes of Chrystes Church*, &c., by the reverend father in God, Thomas byshop of Lincolne. (Anno 1558, fol. lxxvi.) A like mystic meaning was assigned to these apparels abroad as well as in England, for Papebroche observes: Memini enim ex senioribus audivisse quod apud majores nostros passim in usu fuerit, affigere albæ sacerdotali cuicumque *Petias* ejusdem cum planeta coloris et textus ubi illa pedes manusque attingit extima sui parte, repræsentandis (ut ajebant) vulneribus pedum manuumque Crucifixi et quintam similem pro Corona spinea, supra Amictum quo caput obducebat sacrificaturus.—*AA. SS. post Propyl. Maji, seu Chronol. Pontif.* 97.

It would appear that apparels to the alb were for the first time laid aside in England in the reign of the Protestant Edward; for in a rubric of the first liturgy drawn up under that prince, it is ordered, "for the ministration of the holy Communion, the priest shall put upon him . . . a white albe plain, with a vestment or cope." In the reign of the Catholic Mary, apparels were again adopted as ornaments to the alb.

[92] In those councils which he held at Milan, among the sacred ornaments of which St. Charles Borromeo enacted that there should always be three sets for each of the liturgical colours, in every church throughout the province, were the apparels for the amice and the alb:

Amictus sacerdotalis cum fascia et auriphrygio.
Alba sacerdotalis cum auriphrygio et grammatis.
Amictus diaconalis cum fascia seu auriphrygio.
Alba diaconalis cum auriphrygiis.
Amictus subdiaconalis cum fascia seu auriphrygio.
Alba subdiaconalis cum auriphrygio, seu grammatis.

—*Acta Eccl. Mediolanensis*, i. 616.

But these apparels were not merely for the larger and richer

(453) St. Charles Borromeo, among the other liturgical things of which he so earnestly wished to keep up the practice throughout that spot of God's Catholic Church entrusted to his archiepiscopal watchfulness, thought of these very ornaments, and enjoined their use by his synodical decrees.[92]

(454) But these apparels were sewed upon the amice and the alb, not only throughout the Milanese province, but at Rome in the pope's own chapel, all over the south of Italy, and especially in the churches served by the old religious orders, who have always showed an unwillingness to lay aside any ancient custom.[93] Even up to a very late

churches; they were required in every parish church, and directed to be worn, not only at Mass, but in the other divine services:

Supellex indumentorum parochi ad usum Missæ parochialis sine cantu.

Amictus cum auriphrygio, seu fascia.

Alba cum auriphrygio, seu grammatis.

Supellex indumentorum, quæ communia sunt usui parochi, et reliquorum clericorum, non solum in solemni Missæ parochialis sacro cum cantu, sed etiam in aliis divinis officiis ministrantium.

Amictus cum auriphrygio, seu fascia.

Alba cum auriphrygio, seu grammatis.—*Ibid.*, 618.

Moreover, St. Charles has left us the dimensions of these apparels: that for the amice he gives thus: Longa sit fascia hæc cubitum circiter unum et uncias sex: lata uncias circiter septem (*ibid.*, 626): those for the alb are thus described: In ima parte albæ a fronte et a tergo, et itidem in extremis ejus manicis quadræ particulæ (quas grammatas seu auriphrygium appellant) panni serici, qui coloris et panni ejusdem ut casula sit, recte assuantur. —*Ibid.*, 626.

[93] Antiquitus adsuebantur textilia frusta in manicis, in pectore, humeris, et fimbriis albæ, quem usum adhuc retinent Regularium ecclesiæ, et Pontificia Cappella, quod etiam ponitur in amictu a Regularibus.—Magri, *Hierolexicon*, in verbo *Alba*.

Anticamente si aggiungevano da molti nelle maniche, nel petto, nella schiena, e nella estremità nell' una e nell' altra parte orna-

period (455) these enrichments of the alb and amice continued to be pretty generally worn. How then is it that the use of them has only within the last half-century gone down in so many places? These apparels were neither forbidden, nor was the employment of them at all limited by any ecclesiastical authority or ordinance in one single portion of the Church. No other reasons therefore for their being given up can be assigned, than that much-to-be-sorrowed listlessness which at times creeps over the priesthood about the beautiful and venerable ornaments of antiquity, and still more, the sloth of lazy sacristans, by whom it was thought too troublesome to be unsewing and sewing again the

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menti di seta e di oro come anche adesso si vede pratticato nelli camici portati dalli ministri di alcune religioni . . . li quali servono nelle messe solenni e nella cappella Pontificia Romana, e nell' ammitto delli sacerdoti e vescovi Armeni.—Bonanni, *La Gerarchia Ecclesiastica*, pp. 182, 183.

Quædam albæ manicas habent acupictas, pectus etiam, humeros, et lacinias phrygio item opere variatas; quæ consuetudo etiam nunc in quibusdam Regularium ecclesiis, et in Pontificio Sacello retinetur.—Benedictus XIV., *De Sac. Missæ Sacrif.*, lib. i. cap. vii. n. 7.

Talking of these apparels to the albs, Pelliccia (who published his work at Naples, A.D. 1777) tells us such a custom then prevailed in that part of Italy: Quod inter Dominicanos, aliosque ad nostram usque ætatem factum videmus (*De Christianæ Eccl. Politia*, i. 226). In Rome, at the Pope's chapel, these apparels on the albs always corresponded in colour with the vestments of the day, when Catalani wrote, for he lets us know that—Romæ in capella Pontificia diaconus et subdiaconus juxta veterem ritum præter manipulum deferunt in albæ manicis frustilla coloris currentis festi expensa.—*De Codice S. Evangelii*, &c., p. 59.

apparels on an alb, whenever that garment had to be washed.

(456) In France, Germany, and Spain,[94] they

[94] Parisiensis ecclesiæ mos antiquus etiamnum perdurat quo sacerdos cum ministris sacris operando mysteriis amictum cum stola sic ornatum gerit, ut supra ipsum videre sit ex holoserico vel textura aurea, aliave pretiosa materia opificio casulæ vel dalmaticarum consimili assutam plagulam, decenter verticem cooperientem et frontem sacri mystæ cujusdam imposita ad decorum augendum sacri ministerii videri possit. Persimilis ornatus super utriusque manicæ extremitatem intextus atque in albæ quam *paratam* vocant antica et postica parte extrema consertus, non modicum conciliat mystici apparatus decentiæ venustatem. Nec modo in Cathedratica iamque Metropolica Basilica mos hic iampridem invaluit: in eiusdem urbis præcipuis ecclesiis collegiatis ac parœcialibus huc usque perseverat; imo in aliis Galliarum Cathedraticis aliisque insignibus templis idem hodieque servatur: quem acceptum esse a pervetusta majorum theoria patenti indicio sunt antiquæ sacerdotum et pontificum imagines, eorum tumulis inscriptæ vel parietibus appictæ (Du Saussay, *Panoplia Sacerdotalis*, pp. 4, 18, Parisiis, 1681). This is but one out of the three works written by the same learned French prelate on this liturgical point: the other two, the *Episcopalis* and the *Clericalis*, while they show the same wide knowledge of the subject, are equally valuable, and as seldom to be met with on sale as the *Sacerdotalis*.

À Saint Sauve de Montreuil . . . l'on conserve une aube très ancienne, ornée par le haut d'une bande. . . . Bien plus, en plusieurs églises du royaume et chez les Jacobins, on pare aussi . . . le bas de l'aube par devant et par derrière et pareillement le bout des manches, et c'est ce que les anciens ordinaires appellent *une aube parée*. L'amict est semblablement garni d'une bande de la même étoffe, comme il est encore usité dans toutes les anciennes églises et parmy les Jacobins. . . . Ces paremens sont nommez à Paris *playes*, *Plagulæ*, ce qui signifie des bandes ou bordures.—De Vert, *Explic. des Cérém.*, ii. 330 (Paris, 1710).

Describing an old tomb of a priest figured in his vestments, De Moléon (A.D. 1700–1718) takes occasion to say: Son aube a des paremens en bas conformes aux ornemens; ce qui s'appelle dans les Brefs *Alba parata*. On s'en sert encore aujourd'hui dans les églises cathédrales et dans les anciennes abbayes (*Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 236). The use of the apparels on the alb and amice is instanced at pp. 87, 95, 125, 165, 202, of the same valuable work.

Such apparels were worn upon the alb in Germany very late in

were never wholly left off, and a partial employment of (457) them, even to this day, continues in some of those countries.

(458) The time was in this country, when no set of vestments would have been thought complete, unless it had belonging to it its own three albs, with their apparels of a corresponding colour sewed on them.[95]

Ever since the earliest period, the Church has shown her wishes that the alb of her ministers should be very full. This we learn, not only from the old writers[96] on the liturgy, but, with regard

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the last century, as we learn from one of its best liturgists, who testifies that he had seen them more than once there: Et nos ipsi non semel in nostra Germania observavimus (Krazer, *De Apost. nec non Antiq. Eccl. Occident. Liturgiis;* August. Vindel. 1786, 8vo, p. 290), the very best short work of which I know, giving an outline of the western liturgies; and it would serve admirably as a text-book for a liturgical class in our colleges.

Until the present day, the use of appareled albs has been kept up in some of the cities of Belgium.

Travelling through the south of Spain in the year 1837, I found the apparel of the amice still used at High Mass, though in a somewhat different way from antiquity. Instead of being an ornament sewed on the amice itself, as of old, it is now a kind of richly embroidered collar, put on last of all the vestments, and tied in front.

[95] See note 79, p. 358.

[96] Comparing the linen tunic of the Jewish Levites with the alb of Christ's priesthood, Amalarius says: In eo distat vestimentum illud a nostro, quod illud strictum est, nostrum vero largum. Etenim hi qui in veteri testamento spiritu servitutis erant adstricti. . . . . Nos vero quia filius liberavit, liberi sumus. . . . . Ac ideo sic illorum strictum, nostrum largum propter libertatem qua Christus nos liberavit.—*De Eccl. Off.*, ii. 18.

St. Charles Borromeo enacted that the alb, in his diocese, should, when plain, be made of the following dimensions: Alba . . . . e tela tenui candidaque sit; illa pretiosior e tenuiori. Longe autem

(459) to this land, from our sepulchral monuments, and especially from our illuminated manuscripts, both of the Anglo-Saxon and the English epochs.[97] Such national remains, more particularly the latter, let us see that our old albs were made with their sleeves widening in a straight line from the cuff to the arm-hole until they became very broad there, and so large and long about the body, that they needed being pulled up above the girdle in such a way as to fall down again over and quite hide it with their massive folds. Nothing could sit with more dignified gracefulness upon the person of the wearer than the old Eng-

quatuor cubitos producta et succincta, cum a lumbis undique redundet, tum ad pedes usque pertingat. Ubi vero albæ sine auriphrygio seu grammatis adhibentur ample ab ima parte circumquaque pateant cubiculos sexdecim: sicque paulo et latiores et longiores sint, quam aliæ grammatis ornatæ, ut complicatæ ac succinctæ ad lumbosque reflexæ rugarum crisparumve decorem exhibeant (*Acta Eccl. Mediolanensis*, pars iiii, lib. ii. t. i. p. 626). These sixteen cubits round, almost reach nine English yards. The reader will see that the saint lays a stress upon the folds of the alb being made to fall over the girdle, around the waist,—succinctæ ad lumbosque reflexæ.

[97] Were I asked to point out a manuscript in which this is more particularly observable, it would be a very small copy of St. Beda's Life of Saint Cuthberht. This little codex seems to have been written out in the early part of the thirteenth century; and, for the beauty of its many illuminations, may be looked upon as one among the gems of ancient English art. There is nothing in the whole range of Italian painting, for a century after its date, —even in Giotto's school—that comes near the purity and gracefulness of its design, and its freedom of outline. I avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my grateful thanks to its accomplished owner, Sir W. Lawson, Bart., for the very kind way in which he, some time ago, favoured me with the loan of this and another manuscript.

lish alb, as we behold it figured in some of our illuminated codices.

(460) SECTION X

There remains to be noticed an article of sacred attire anciently known here as

The Subucula;

for besides the alb, and beneath it, the Anglo-Saxons wore another garment,[98] which would seem

[98] The canons drawn up in Edgar's reign enjoin, among other liturgical matters, that every priest have a corporale, when he celebrates Mass, and a subucula, under his alb, and all his mass-vestments worthily appointed: XXXIII.—Ānd þe læꞃað ꝥ ælc þꞃeoꞅꞇ hæbbe coꞃpoꞃalem þonne he mæꞅꞅiʒe. ⁊ ꞅubuculam unðeꞃ hiꞅ alban· ⁊ eal mæꞅꞅe-ꞃeaꞅ þuꞃðlíce behþoꞃþeu (Thorpe, *Ancient Laws of England*, ii. 250). The reading followed by Spelman, *Concil.*, i. 452, is bad; and his guess that the corporal meant a priestly garment, even more unhappy. Wilkins (*Concil.*, i. 227) did still worse; for he boldly sets down "corporalem vestem" in his Latin translation, without the italics of Spelman.

But from Anglo-Saxon documents much older than the above-mentioned canons, we catch hints of this "subucula" under another name, that of "poderis,"—a garment not only set down among the articles of sacrificial attire by our Anglo-Saxon Pontificals, but mentioned apart, and distinguished, from the alb, with which the latter writers on the liturgy have confounded it. In the prayer, given by Archbishop Ecgberht's Pontifical (p. 17) for the blessing of vestments, we find them thus enumerated: Planetam . . . seu pudorem, albam ac stolam, cingulum, orariumque, &c., where it is evident, by the mistake of him who wrote out that codex, "pudorem" is put instead of "poderem." Again, in the Anglo-Saxon [Alet] Pontifical, now in the public library at Rouen, in the service for the dedication of a church, the "poderis" is marked as another and a separate robe from the alb: Hanc planetam, ac casulam, atque superhumerale, seu poderem. Albam ac stolam, &c. —*Archæologia*, xxv. 28.

A garment with the name "poderis" could have been so called

(461) to have been long enough to reach down to the heels, and was probably, like the alb, made of linen. Such a kind of light thin vesture under the alb is becoming, and we know that the English under the Normans kept the subucula, in one form or another; and every priest, over his common dress, wore this sort of linen robe whenever he prepared himself to offer up Mass: for by the statutes of some churches it was ordained that either a rochet or a surplice should be put on before the usual sacrificial vestments;[99] and as late as the end of (462) the fourteenth century, we find an English divine taking especial notice of it in his enumeration and symbolic description of the vestments with which the priest robed himself for Mass.[100] Indeed, a rubric in the

only because, as the word means in its original Greek, whence it was borrowed, it was so long as to touch the feet.

The "poderis" was of linen, reached down to the heels like the alb, and most likely differed from that robe solely by being much narrower in the skirts.

[99] In the statutes of St. Paul's, London, it was enjoined that either a rochet or a surplice should be used under the sacerdotal vestments: Sparrow Simpson, *Registrum*, p. 71. The difference between a rochet and a surplice is explained further on, in vol. ii.

[100] Loco bumbacii albi militum mundi habent (sacerdotes) camisiam vel superpelliceum, quod munditiam representat. Loco loricæ habent albam, &c.—John Bromiard (*c.* A.D. 1390), *Summa Prædicantium*, pars secunda, fol 338 (Venetiis, 1586).

The chantry priests of St. Paul's, London, were told always to have on a surplice under their Mass-vestments: Celebraturi autem candidis superpelliciis induti, accedant ad Altare; et super ea sacerdotalia vestimenta induant. — *De Capellanis* [*in Registrum Statutorum et Consuet. Eccl. S. Pauli, Lond.* (W. Sparrow Simpson), p. 235].

Roman Missal even yet enjoins the priest to put on, before the alb, a surplice when he is vesting himself for the Holy Sacrifice.[101]

(463) SECTION XI

That the piece of fine linen in the shape of an oblong square, now everywhere known as

THE AMICE

(though anciently it went under other names[102]), was deemed one among the sacred garments, and used as such by the Anglo-Saxons, there cannot be the slightest doubt, for it is distinctly noticed in some of their Pontificals. At what period, however, they began to employ this appendage cannot now be easily ascertained.[103] The amice formed no part

[101] *Ritus Servandus in celebratione Missæ. De Præpar. Sacerd. celeb.* I, among the "Rubricæ Generales" at the beginning of the missal.

In tracing this rubric prescribing the use of a linen vesture under the alb, from Rome to England, where it had its rise among the Anglo-Saxons, as we see from note 98 above, we meet with an intermediate notice of it in the synodal statutes framed by John, Bishop of Liège (A.D. 1287), who, in the chapter *De Sacramento Altaris*, directs that: Presbyteri sub albis induti sint superpelliciis vel tunica linea quæ vulgariter *Saroht* vel *Rochet* appellatur (*Stat. Syn. Ecc. Leod.* in Martene, *Thes. Anecd.*, iv. 838); and again in those of Cambray: Presbyteri sub alba sint induti superpellicio vel tunica linea, quæ Gallice dicitur *Sarcos.*—*Stat. Syn. Ecc. Camer.* in Martene, *Vet. Script.*, vii. 1298.

[102] Our present amice has been severally called: anagolaium, anagolagi, ambolagium, anaboladium, orale, superhumerale, humerale, &c.

[103] From the hesitating way in which Reginald, the monk of Durham, speaks of the amice among the other vestments found on the body of St. Cuthberht (A.D. 1104), there is reason for doubting whether one was really placed upon the saint. What looked

of the sacrificial attire during the first ages of the Church, or at the time when St. Austin came to Britain from Rome; and the oldest written mention (464) of it is furnished by documents belonging to the eighth century. In the earliest figured remains of ecclesiastical attire, such as the mosaics of Ravenna (given in this volume, p. 260), we see no marks of the amice; and as far as our own Anglo-Saxon manuscripts are concerned, none of them show its presence, and it is to be found for the first time unmistakably represented upon those of our national monuments which have arisen since the days of St. Osmund. Even then it was not worn as we now wear it; for though, as at present, it went round the neck and throat, yet was it so loosely and widely put on, that it left both quite bare and visible. Were it not for the splendid apparel usually sewed to the amice, that part of the ministerial vesture of the clergy would perhaps never have been distinguishable, even on these latter monuments.

Towards the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century, the amice had been, as we know for certain, formally recognised abroad as the first of the sacred garments;[104] and very soon

like an amice may have been something else: Postea alba sacerdotali induitur, et amictus in collo vel humeris esse videtur.—*De Admirandis S. Cuthberti Virt.*, p. 86.

[104] Amalarius says: Amictus est primum vestimentum nostrum, quo collum undique cingimus.—*De Eccles. Off.*, ii. 17 [*P.L.* cv. 1094]

In his will (A.D. 915) Bishop Riculfus bequeaths: Amictos cum auro quatuor [*P.L.* cxxxii. 468].

much adornment was bestowed upon it: here, at (465) home, though it be not noticed in Archbishop Ecgberht's Pontifical, a mention of it, under the name of "superhumerale," may be seen in an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical of a more recent date, now at Rouen.[105]

From the fact that the presence of the amice cannot be detected in our Anglo-Saxon manuscripts (the illuminations in which were done after the period when we know the Anglo-Saxons employed it), we may presume that here it was worn under the alb, and rather spread low upon the shoulders than about the neck: while elsewhere it was (and in some places, Milan and Lyons[106] for example, still is) put on after and above the alb. (466) Of this latter practice, once so common, a trace may still be seen in the rites followed by the Roman pontiff, who, when he is being vested for singing solemn High Mass, clothes himself,

[105] This Anglo-Saxon [Alet] Pontifical is of the tenth century; and one among the vestments enumerated by the prayer said at blessing them, is the superhumerale or amice: Planetam ac casulam atque superhumerale seu poderem, albam ac stolam, &c.—*Archæologia*, xxv. 28.

[106] *Missale Lugd.* (A.D. 1510), and a work in French, entitled *La Recueil des Cérémonies de l'Église de Lyon*, 1702. In the now scarce work, *Rationale Ceremoniarum Misse Ambrosianæ*, its author, P. Casola, a canon of the metropolitan Church of Milan, while describing the "modus missam celebrandi," says: Sacerdos præparando se ad missam celebrandam primò induit camisium dicendo: . . . *Dealba me, Domine*, &c. . . . Deinde accipiendo cingulum dicit: *Precinge me, Domine, cingulo fidei*, &c. . . . Accipiendo amictum dicit hunc versum: *Pone, Domine, galeam*, &c. *ut supra.* —Sig. a. iii.

along with the other sacerdotal robes, in what is called

The Fanon

now, but formerly the "Orale."[107]

The peculiar ornament known under the two above-mentioned appellations, has been, for ages, exclusively assigned to the pope, who assumes it only when he solemnly pontificates. This fanon is an oblong piece of white silk gauze of some length, and, if I remember it rightly, is striped across its width with narrow bars, alternately gold, blue, and red, and is meant to bear a likeness to the ephod (467) of the high-priest under the Old Law. At first it is cast upon the pontiff's head like a hood, and its two ends are wrapped one over the right, the other over the left shoulder, and thus kept until the holy father is clad in the chasuble, when the fanon is thrown back, and made to hang smoothly and gracefully above and all around the shoulders of that vestment, like a tippet.

[107] The word "fanon" is sometimes used to express the maniple: but here it has quite another meaning, and signifies that hood-like kind of appendage now exclusively confined (in the Latin part of the Church) to the Roman pontiff's use, though all bishops who follow the Syriac liturgy may wear it. The first ancient writer who speaks of this papal fanon under the name of "orale," is Pope Innocent III., who says of it: Romanus autem pontifex post albam et cingulum assumit orale, quod circa caput involvit et replicat super humeros, legalis pontificis ordinem sequens, qui post lineam strictam et zonam induebat Ephod, id est, superhumerale cuius locum modo tenet amictus.—*De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*, i. 53 [*P.L.* ccxvii. 793].

As liturgical writers seldom heed, and still fewer readers have, perhaps, ever been or will be able to behold Christ's vicegerent upon earth wearing such a peculiar article of the pontifical attire, it may not be amiss to put before them an illustration of this fanon, which is so well shown in the accompanying wood-cut of a painting on a wall at Subiaco, near Rome. That old fresco is precious for many reasons: it was not only done about the time of Pope Innocent III., the earliest writer by whom this ornament, under its older name, "orale," is spoken of, but should be looked upon as having a still higher value, from being the only known artistic monument exhibiting the ancient form of another liturgical rarity, the "subcingulum," (468) about which we shall soon have to say a few words.

FRESCO OF A POPE, showing how the fanon is worn about the neck and shoulders.

While their neighbours on the Continent were bestowing golden ornaments upon the amice, it is not likely that our Anglo-Saxon brethren lacked either taste or zeal in their embellishment of this sacred appendage for their own sanctuaries. Indeed, unless I be mistaken, the word "superale," which may be found in some descriptions of vest-

ments[108] during the latter times of the Anglo-Saxons, from the enrichment of the amice lying above and overlapping the neck part of the alb and chasuble, was expressly chosen to mean, among them, that very kind of adornment which in after-days was called the apparel of the amice. Be that as it may, the amice, during the English period at least of our Church, was always beautiful, often truly gorgeous: generally the same rich tissue which supplied the apparels for the alb, furnished another for the amice belonging to it;[109] small but glowing (469) enamels set in elaborate embroidery were, in many instances, to be observed sewed on to it; and not unfrequently might be seen around the neck of an old English bishop, an apparel to the amice made from sheets of the purest beaten gold, thickly studded with pearls and sparkling with precious stones.[110]

(470) Up to the latest day that England was Catholic, all the clergy of this land—and indeed

[108] Hic (Leoffinus, abbas Eliensis) insignia ornamenta ecclesiæ suæ contulit, videlicet albam præclaram cum amictu et superale cum stola et manipulo, ex auro et lapidibus contextis, atque infulam rubeam mirando opere quæ subtus et desuper floribus retro extensa, velut quodam tabulatu gemmis et auro munitur (*Acta S. Etheldredæ*, auctore Thoma Elien, in *AA. SS. Junii*, iv. 530). Leoffin was abbot in the reign of Cnut.

[109] Emit (Helyas, prior Roffensis) XL albas singulas, et XL amictus cum paruris, et duos amictos de aurifriso, et duos bruslatos (Thorpe, *Regist. Roffense*, p. 122). Quædam matrona . . . dedit . . . duos amictos optimos de aurifriso.—*Ibid.*, p. 123.

[110] Hugo de Trotesclive, monachus, dedit (ecclesiæ Roffensi) duas albas cum amictis suis lapidibus insertis (Thorpe, *Registrum Rof-*

the clergy (471) throughout Christendom—used to arrange the amice in such a way as to leave the neck quite free and uncovered. The so-called collar now worn abroad, had not only never been beheld upon any clergyman, but was not so much as thought of for two centuries afterwards: it is, in truth, the offspring of a worldly ornament in secular dress, and not of ecclesiastical attire, being

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fense, p. 119). Ernulfus episcopus . . . feci fieri . . . et albam cum amictu lapidibus preciosis inserto.—*Ibid.*, p. 120.

Moyses, prior de Coventria, dedit albam paratam cum precioso amictu suo.—*Ibid.*, p. 123.

Amictus ij cum lapidibus deaurati (Wordsworth, *Salisbury Proc.*, 174).

Duo amictus de filo aureo aliquantulum lati.

Amictus breudatus de auro puro cum rotellis et amatistis et perlis, &c.

Amictus vetus breudatus cum auro puro et duobus aymallis et tribus lapidibus, &c.

Amictus habens campum de perlis Indicis ornatus cum duobus magnis episcopis et uno rege stantibus argenteis deauratis, ornatus lapidibus vitreis magnis et parvis per totum in capsis argenteis deauratis, &c.

Item parura amictus cum campo de perlis albis parvulis, cum floribus et quadrifoliis in medio et platis in circuitu per limbos argenteos deauratos cum lapidibus et perlis ordine spisso serico insertis in capsis argenteis, et sex bullonibus de perlis in extremitate.—*Visit. in Thesauro S. Pauli, Londin.* (A.D. 1295); in Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, pp. 318, 319.

Amictus Sancti Thome gemmis ornatus.

Amictus unus auro egregius gemmis ornatus.

Amicti de aurifrigio gemmis ornati .lx cum colar'.

Amictus .S de Paulo amalatus.—*Ornamenta in Vest. Ecc. Christi Cantuar.* (A.D. 1321) [*Invent. Ch. Ch. Canterbury*, p. 60].

These magnificent and jewelled apparels for the amice were often called, during Catholic times in the kingdom, "collars."

Paruræ.

Item unum collarium quasi super amictum preciosum cum duodecim saphyris grossis et decem emeraudis, positis in trifoliis

originally nothing else than the shirt-collar turned down over the clergyman's every-day common garb, in compliance with a fashion that began towards the end of the sixteenth century. None of the older religious orders ever wear it.

In all monuments belonging to the mediæval period, whether of the secular or regular clergy, the figure of the individual represented, if clad in his sacred vestments, always shows the throat quite bare. The only exceptions I know of to this rule are very few. At Rome, in St. Mary's across the Tiber, there is the effigy, vested as a priest, of Nicholas de Ricardinis, who (A.D. 1368) died one of its canons; and in St. Mary Major's lies buried the deacon (472) Peter de Sordis (A.D. 1400). In both of these tombs, the alb at top ends in a full-frilled ruffle, going all round the neck, as may be seen in the engraving of them given in the *AA. SS.* by Papebroche in his *Propylæum Maji, Paralip. ad Conat.* p. 98. In the crypts of the Vatican is still preserved

aureis una cum perlis per totum mixtis.—*Capella de Wyndesore* (A.D. 1385), in Dugdale, *Monast. Anglic.*, viii. 1366.

Dedit unam mitram, auro, argento, et lapidibus preciosis undique adornatam, cum cirothecis preciosis lapidibus circulatis. Et unum colerium ejusdem operis cujus et mitra.—*Johannes Glastoniensis*, p. 253 (ed. Hearne).

One-and-thirty collars, six of them garnished with plates of silver, and gilt, and stones, the residue of broidering work, and pearls.—*Inventory of the Cathedral Church of S. Swithin, Winchester*, in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, i. 202; of the things sacrilegiously taken from that church by the tyrant Henry VIII.

Unaware of all these and many other similar ancient documents which speak of apparels on the amice as well as the alb, Cardinal Bona, while noticing the use of this very ornament in his time, falls into the mistake of thinking that old writers have not mentioned it: Sunt quidam, qui amictui ex holoserico vel aurea textura plagulam assuunt colori et opificio casulæ, sive stolæ consimilem, sed hujus assumenti nullum vestigium reperio apud antiquos scriptores.—*Rer. Liturg.*, i. xxiv. 3 (ed. Sala, ii. 219).

the sepulchral memorial put up to Pope Innocent VII. Here also around the neck of the pontiff's alb, the same ruffled frill, though somewhat small, is marked, as the reader will find by looking into Dionigi's *Sac. Vet. Basil. Crypt. Monumenta,* Tab. lvii. p. 150.

The only example of such a ruff about the neck of an English ecclesiastic, with which I am acquainted, is a brass over the grave of Arthur Cole (A.D. 1558), in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford. Being a canon of Windsor, this personage is figured in his surplice, fur tippet and choir, not silk, cope; and high up, all round his neck, he wears a frilled ruff, which looks as if it were the collar, not of his surplice, but of his shirt, as may be observed in the engraving here given of this curious, though late, monument of Catholic England.

In the portraits of popes and cardinals done by Raffaelle, and artists of his and the following period, upon none of those personages do we behold anything whatsoever in the shape of what is now worn about the neck,—more especially by the secular clergy in Italy,—and known as the *collarino,* or collar. This is a kind of stiff stock, commonly black, covered at top with a narrow strip of fine white linen; instead of black, it is purple for bishops, scarlet for cardinals. The likenesses of our own illustrious countrymen, Cardinals Pole and Allen, show no collar. Indeed, the earliest painting I remember, in which the collar as now made appears, is that of Pope Pius VI.; though for many years before that pontiff's reign all grades of the (473) clergy are figured wearing a piece of linen, or fine muslin, plain and loose, folded down all round the neck, looking, what in truth it was meant and thought to be, a shirt-collar turned back. What the opinion, upon this point, was of a Roman prelate of great literary eminence, we may see from the following remarks of Monsignor Bottari, who, in his elucidations

ARTHUR COLE
CANON OF WINDSOR (1558)
In Magdalen College, Oxford

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of a fresco representing the Good Shepherd, painted in the Catacombs, noticing the way in which the neck of his tunic is turned down, incidentally observes, that it looks like the collar worn by the clergy then (A.D. 1476), and by all lay folks a generation or two before: Sta sedendo . . . il buon Pastore . . . vestito della sola tunica cinta, la quale è rimboccata alquanto intorno al collo, formando quasi un collarino simile a quello de' nostri preti e de' laici ancora secondo le antiche fogge di vestire de' nostri avoli . . . dal qual rimbocco è derivato il detto collare, che figura la fodera dell' abito, che poi per maggior pulizia si è fatto staccato dalla veste per mutarlo più spesso.—*Roma Sotterranea*, ii. 75.

In such a light the Church, through her provincial councils and other documents, has ever regarded the collar, and has deemed it not an article of exclusively clerical attire, but a part of dress which, in common with lay folks, the clergy wear.

When laymen began to have to their shirts large broad collars, turned back, and made to spread over the shoulders, and to wear deep linen cuffs about their wrists, the clergy also took up the mode. But the Church, while she did not forbid her ministers from following this fashion, warned them, however, not to give way to its exaggerations and finery. As may be seen in so many old pictures of that period, gentlemen's collars then were always edged with rich lace, often entirely composed of that costly material, stretched out widely over the shoulders, and seem to (474) have constituted no inconspicuous item in attire. Their shirt-sleeve wrist-bands were also turned over the cuffs of their doublet, were made of the same fabrics, and ornamented in the same manner, as the collar. Moreover cuffs—as well as collar—of the layman's shirt were always hemmed with some fine kind of lace; and the latter part of that garment, being strongly starched, was

so managed as to stand out from the wearer's neck, and show the nice care which had been given to its plaiting.

The becoming use of both the ornaments, in male attire, the Church willingly allowed to all churchmen not belonging to the religious orders. At the same time, however, by her ordinances in France and Belgium, as well as throughout Italy, she forbade either lace or needlework to be put on the collar, which, she commanded, should not be too broad, but made so as to be easily distinguishable from the layman's,—and therefore quite plain, of linen, modestly folded back upon the shoulders, and without either starch, or plaits in it; so, too, of the cuffs about the wrists.

Li collari, e manichini siano semplici senza merletti, o lavori, non tinti, ma solamente di color bianco.—*Bulla Sixti V.* (A.D. 1589), quoted by Chamillard, *De Corona, Ton. et Habitu Clericorum*, Paris, 1659, 8vo, p. 29.

Collaria vero indusiorum eiusmodi habeant quæ modestiam clericalem sapiant, clericosque a sæcularibus, et maxime mundanis hominibus aperte distinguant. Proinde omnibus in universum clericis deinceps indusia sive ad collum sive ad manus crispata hæc synodus interdicit.—*Concil. Cameracense* (A.D. 1586), *ibid.* p. 75.

Quod de collari interularum item simplici præscripsimus, id etiam huiusmodi sit, ut ne ab extrema quidem anteriori parte quasi rostratum promineat.—*Synodus Mediolanensis* (A.D. 1574), *ibid.* p. 165.

(475) Collare quod vocant, simplex et modice latum honeste reclinetur.—*Syn. Veneta* (A.D. 1581), *ibid.* p. 182.

Collaria sint simplicia, plana, modeste lata, et ex communi tela confecta, et quæ honeste et apte reflectantur super veste.—*Syn. Placentina* (A.D. 1589), *ibid.* 210.

Interulas seu camisias ad manus et ad collum cris-

pas, rugosas, fabrecatas, aut aliqua texturæ arte compositas non habeant (clerici), sed collaria sint simplicia, plana et modice lata, quæ honeste et apte super veste reflectantur.—*Syn. Collensis* (A.D. 1594), *ibid.* p. 225.

Collare quod dicunt, et tela quæ ad manus reclinatur, simplex sit ac modeste lata non rugosa, et quæ superfluum redoleat artificium et vanum.—*Syn. Castellana* (A.D. 1595), *ibid.* 234; et *Syn. Venusina* (A.D. 1614), *ibid.* p. 254.

Collarium camisiæ non crispum, sed simplex, et sine ullo ornamento.—*Syn. Imolensis* (A.D. 1614), *ibid.* p. 257.

Extremæ subucularum partes ad manus et collum prominentes lactucatæ ne sint, seu pinnatæ vel cremore ac dente levigatæ.—*Syn. Florentina* (A.D. 1619), *ibid.* p. 263.

I collari delle camicie et le manighette da mano siano semplici, schiette, senza lavori, o crespe; ma distese, et pure rivoltate duoi dita intorno al collo ed alle mani, e non più.—*Syn. Torcellana* (A.D. 1628), *ibid.* p. 279.

Interulæ nec ad collum, nec ad manus rugosæ sint aut acu pictæ, sed planæ et nullo artificio ornatæ, quæ eos a laicis aperte distinguant.—*Syn. Coloniensis* (A.D. 1596), p. 320.

Collaribus simplicibus utantur et ita brevibus, ut superpellicei, stolæ, vel cappæ summitatem non tangant.—*Sacerdotale seu Manuale Rothomagense* (A.D. 1650), *ibid.* p. 375.

In all these synodical decrees, the reader will have seen that the Church, while she almost always coupled the linen wrist-cuffs with the collar, looked upon both as articles of dress common alike to ecclesiastics and the laity, and not (476) as things clerical in themselves. The collar is throughout spoken of, and understood to be, a part of the shirt: and it is interesting to find this meaning of it kept up, until a late period, in the collegiate attire of the English students

at Rome; for Bonanni, in his description of the dress worn by the alumni of my own well-beloved Alma Mater —the English College in that capital of the Christian world—tells us that, when he wrote (A.D. 1710) they wore their shirt-collars turned down over the collar of the cassock: Circa collum linea ex indusio alba apparet,—which is well shown in the nicely-executed full-length engraving of an English student in his college costume, by the side of the letterpress, in the curious and valuable *Catalogo degli Ordini Religiosi*, &c., parte terza, nu. xxxvi. Roma, 1710.

By the way, while Oxford and Cambridge contest with one another about their founder, and priority of existence, both must yield, with regard to antiquity, unto the English College at Rome; for it represents one of the oldest establishments in the world, coming down, as it does, from the far-famed Schola Anglorum founded by Ine, upheld by Offa, visited by Alfred, and at last honoured by becoming, in later days, the mother of many martyrs—those holy priests she sent back to England, where, because they believed as Ine, and Offa, and Alfred had believed—because they taught as Gregory, and Austin, and Beda had taught—their blood was poured out upon the scaffold by their own countrymen.

Bonanni instances at Rome several colleges wherein the young men still wore linen cuffs and ruffles. Of the dress used at the Collegio Capranica, he says: Linea colli et manuum ornamenta sunt ejus generis quod ecclesiasticos viros decet (*Pl.* xxxv. *ibid.*). Of the cuffs worn by the youths of the Collegio Mattei, he observes: I manichetti soliti usarsi dalle persone ecclesiastiche (*Pl.* xliv.). The (477) Collegio degli Neofiti: Usano manichetti comuni agli ecclesiastici (*Pl.* xlvi.). Ruffles were used by lay students only, as it is remarked, at *Pl.* xxxix. of the Collegio Ghislieri (*ibid.*). The cuff of the ecclesiastic, and the layman's

full-frilled ruffle, have both been long thrown off at Rome. But how fickle fashion is! Our young men, who affect to be the pinks of all that is elegant in dress, may be now often seen with their well-starched and smoothly-ironed wristbands turned back over their coat-cuffs.

In Italy, clergymen, when they travel, or go out of town into the country, mostly lay aside the collar, and put on a black silk cravat.

Among the documents as yet brought to light, there is nothing which warrants us to think that, at any part of the divine service, the Anglo-Saxons were accustomed to wear the amice like a hood drawn up over the head; but with regard to the liturgical usages of England, when the Ritual of Salisbury had been so widely adopted, the present question is not so easily cleared up.

Early in the thirteenth century, we know it was a rite, already well established abroad, to keep the amice hanging over the head while the vestments were being put on;[111] and so widely did this usage spread itself, that from such a practice mystical writers and the Church herself began to look upon (478) the amice as symbolising the helmet of salvation,[112] a meaning which is yet given to it in the

[111] Quidam amictu caput suum obnubit, donec super os casulæ illum revolvat et velut caput aut coronam illi coaptet.—Rupertus Tuit. *De Div. Off.*, 19; Hittorp, p. 861.

[112] Hinc humerale quod in Lege Ephod, apud nos amictum dicitur, sibi imponit; et illo caput et collum, et humeros, unde et humerale dicitur, cooperit et in pectore copulatum duabus vittis ad mamillas cingit. Per humerale quod capiti imponitur spes cœlestium intelligitur, &c.—Honorius of Autun in *Gemma Animæ* i. 201; Hittorp, p. 1231.

prayer that we still say at putting it on, the while we let it rest for an instant on the head. By the present rubrics of the Roman Pontifical, the subdeacon at his ordination is invested with the amice, in having it formally drawn up over his head by the hands of the bishop. According to the customs of the old religious orders, the amice, to this day, is always worn over the head in going to, and coming from the altar, at the beginning and the end of service;[113] and if not now, at least within a few years, in several parts of France, the usage was for the priest to wear his amice muffling his head (479) during a great portion of the holy Sacrifice.[114]

[113] Le Brun (whose admirable work was printed A.D. 1777), mentioning the use of the amice for a covering on the head in going to and coming from the altar, says: Cet usage s'observe encore à Narbonne, à Auxerre depuis la Toussaint jusqu'à Pâques, et chez les Dominicaines et les Capucins (*Explic. des Prières et des Cérém. de la Messe*, i. 43). The Dominican and the Capuchin friars still keep up this ritual custom, as any one who has been in Catholic countries—Italy in particular—must have witnessed.

[114] L'amict se mettoit autrefois sur la teste. . . . À Paris, on le porte encore en hyver sur la teste, jusqu'à la secrète; à la Rochelle et à Angers hyver et esté, jusqu'au commencement du canon. Et en ces trois églises on le reprend après la Communion. À Soissons, les prêtres qu'ils appellent *Cardinaux* . . . n'ôtent point l'amict de dessus leur tête, pendant toute la Messe, &c.—De Vert, *Explic. des Cérém. de la Messe*, ii. 256.

Le célébrant et ces deux-ci (le Grand-Diacre et Grand-Soûdiacre) se servent d'amicts et d'aubes parées, et ont en tout tems l'amict sur la tête, qu'ils n'abaissent que depuis le *Sanctus* jusqu'à la Communion (De Moléon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 87). Such was the usage at the cathedral of Angers (A.D. 1700–1718) when the above observing writer made his journeys. At the cathedral of Sens, so broad was the apparel on the amice, and it was put on in such a manner, that the hind part of the head must have been covered throughout the whole Mass: Des amitz parez . . . qui couvrent le derrière de la tête, &c. (*ibid.*, p. 165): our wood-cut of the sub-

From the illuminations in manuscripts, and the wood-cuts so often to be found in those earlier impressions of foreign service-books, we learn that the unwritten rubric then must have been, for those who (vested as priests or deacons) walked, or bore upon their shoulders the shrine, in the processions made beyond the walls of the church, either about the fields of the parish, or the city's (480) streets and lanes, to wear the amice drawn up in the way of a hood, with its apparel over-arching the forehead.[115]

deacon holding a thurible and wearing a high apparel (p. 363), will illustrate, in a manner, what such a lofty amice must have been.

[115] In that truly splendid work, now publishing by M. de Bastard, entitled, *Peintures et Manuscrits depuis le 8ième jusqu'à la fin du 16ième siècle,* this is well seen in a facsimile (vol. vii.) of an illumination done in the sixteenth century, in which is figured the taking of Jericho: the Levites who carry the ark are robed like Christian deacons in richly appareled albs, and have the amice drawn up close over the head.

In this wood-cut from p. 122 of the beautiful Roman Pontifical,

Now, although there be nothing among the Sarum rubrics which hints at such a practice, still, as we do know from a very high English authority, that the custom here was for the priest to place the amice upon his head in arraying himself in the vestments for Mass,[116] we are warranted

from the press of Giunta, Venice (A.D. 1520), and dedicated to Pope Leo X., the four priests who are carrying the relics, and the deacon and subdeacon walking alongside the mitred bishop, are all shown in the wood-cut with the appareled amice pulled up over the head.

[116] In that highly valuable theological work on the Ten Commandments, written in the fifteenth century, and called *A compendiouse treatyse, or dialogue of Dives and Pauper*, Dives asks, "What betokeneth the clothinge of the prieste at masse?" to which question Pauper answers: "The amyt on his heed at the begynnynge, betokeneth that clothe that Christis face was hyled with in tyme of his passion, whan the iewes hyled his face and bobbed hym and made hym arede who that smote hym" (*The Eyght Command.*, cap. viii. fol. 287. *Imprynted in Fletestrete by T. Berthelet*, A.D. 1536). In another scarce little book, *L'interprétation et signification de la Messe* (translated from the Flemish of Friar Gerard de la Goude, and printed at Antwerp A.D. 1529), may be seen an illustration of this in the wood-cut, wherein the priest,

in (481) thinking that, as abroad, so in this country, the amice used to be worn upon the head during out-of-door processions, and at the time of vesting, when, as soon as the chasuble had been put on, the amice was thrown back, and so arranged about the neck that its folds were quite hidden beneath its apparel. Such a conjecture is strengthened by the fact that, when speaking of the amice, our old English writers designate this article of the sacrificial raiment by words which essentially mean a part of dress which is worn upon the head of the individual who assumes it: with John Garland, in the thirteenth century, "tiar" and amice are but (482) two expressions for the one same thing;[117] while during the reign of the sacrilegious Henry VIII. "kerchief,"[118] or, in French, a covering for the head, is the term particularly chosen to indi-

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while being vested by the deacon and subdeacon, keeps his appareled amice, like a hood, upon his head. Again, another of our writers says: "For as the Jewes did first cover Christes face, and did mocke him and buffet him, so hathe the priest in memory of that, an amisse put upon his head" (Watson, Bishop of Lincolne, *Holsome and Catholyke Doctryne, &c.*, A.D. 1558, fol. lxxvi.). Hence is it, that in some of our late documents, the amice is called by no other name than the "head-cloth": "for washing eleven aubes and as many head-clothes," &c.—*Churchwardens' Accts.*, in Fuller, *Hist. of Waltham Abbey*, p. 273 (London, 1840).

[117] Tyara idem est quod amictus sacerdotis.—Johannes de Garlandia, *Dictionarius*. See before, note 17, p. 304.

[118] Three albes and all their apparel, lacking one for an ammess kerchief.—*Inventory of Lincoln Cathedral*, in Dugdale, *Mon.* viii. 1290.

Three albes, three ammis kerchifs, and their apparels (*ibid.*). Our kerchief comes from the French "couvre chief," which means a covering for the head.

cate the amice, by those who had to draw up in English lists of all the vestments belonging to our churches, when the king began his work of robbery.

By the customs of our national liturgy, when this kingdom happily was Catholic, as of the alb so of the amice, the use was not limited to the upper grades of the clergy—those who had taken what by distinction are called holy orders—but was allowed to such churchmen as had gone no further than into minor orders : the lower class of clerks therefore, on occasions, wore the amice as well as the alb, in the olden times of England.[119]

[119] By the ritual of Salisbury, the minor clerks who officiated about the altar at High Mass, and during the more solemn functions of the Church, were not only allowed, but required, to be vested in alb and amice: Ceteris vero ministris scilicet ceroferariis, thuribulariis et accolito in albis cum amictibus existentibus (*Missale ad usum Sarum* [582] *Ordinarium Missæ*). Duo sacerdotes excellentiores cum diacono et subdiacono de secunda forma et ceroferariis de prima forma qui omnes sint albis cum amictibus induti (*ibid.* [308] *Feria* v., *in Cena Domini*). Cum diacono et subdiacono: et ceteris ministris altaris: qui omnes sint albis cum amictibus induti sine tunica.—*Ibid.* [316] *Feria* vi., *in die Parasceves*).

Besides these rubrics out of the Missal, others from the Processional of Salisbury, given further on, vol. ii. at note 37, show that the boys who bore the tapers, the thurifers, and the acolyte who carried the cross, were, by the old Sarum ritual, all clad in alb and amice.

Unaware of these and other like rubrics to be found in the Salisbury Manual and Gradual, Mr. Maskell has fallen into the mistake of thinking that "the amice was an ecclesiastical vestment, worn only by the clergy who were in sacred orders."—*Mon. Rit.*, vol. iii. p. 25 [ii. 26], note 37. Moreover, he beholds in the ceremony of wrapping an amice about the anointed head of the king at his coronation, an imaginary importance not shadowed forth by any

(483) The monastic cowl, which is at times to be met with figured hanging out somehow or

authority (*ib.*). In his description of the coronation of Richard I., Roger Hoveden (A.D. 1189) does not call the linen cloth put on the king's head after the unction, by the name of amice: Deinde posuit idem archiepiscopus super caput eius consecratum pannum lineum, et pileum desuper [*Chron.* R.S., li. vol. iii. p. 10]. The "Device for the Coronation of King Henry VII.," among the interesting *Rutland Papers* (edited by Mr. Jerdan for the Camden Society) directs that "thabbot of Westminster shall put on the king a taberd of tarteryn, white, shaped in maner of a dalmatik, and he shall putt on the kinges hed a coyfe, the same to be brought to the chamberlayn, which shall contynuelly a byde on the kinges hed to the viij daie next folowing, &c." (*ibid.* p. 17.) In the same "Device," mention is made of "the quenys hed haveing then a coif putt thereon . . . for conseruacion of the said vnccion," &c. (*ibid.*, p. 20.) This rubric was carried out; for in the minute account of the coronation of this very princess, the lady Elizabeth, Henry VII.'s wife, it is noticed: "After the archbishop had blessed the Quenes corone . . . . he sett the Crowne uppon her Hede, wherupon was a Coyff put for the Conservation of the holy Uncion, which is afterwarde to be delyverede unto the saide Archebisshop," &c. (Leland, *Collectanea*, iii. 224). When the first Protestant king of this country was crowned: "After the king's Enonction the Archbishop dried every place of the same with cotton and lynnen cloath . . . . puting on the King's Hands a Paire of Lynnen Gloves and on his Head a Lynnen Coyfe." *The Procession of King Edward VI., &c., and the Solempnitie of his Coronation. Ibid.*, p. 326.

From all these testimonials it will be seen that the "amictus" of our old coronation rubric, upon which Mr. Maskell has hung his note, was not then understood to be the ecclesiastical and vestimental amice, but was employed to mean a covering which any one might wear.

Liturgical readers hardly need be reminded the king's head was veiled in this way with a linen hood, not because of the regal dignity, nor from any distinctive respect thus intended to be shown to his royal person, but thoroughly out of reverence for the hallowed chrism which had been poured out upon it. In fact the Church treated the king in this instance, in no other wise than she did the lowliest of the king's subjects when they received the Sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation. Upon the anointed head of the newly-baptized child was put a piece of fine white

another (484) from about the neck, or pulled quite up over the head, in a few of our old ecclesiastical effigies,[120] (485) must not be mistaken for the

linen, known in those days as the chrismal or chrisome, to be worn, like the king's "coyfe," both day and night, for a whole week: "Also after the baptism, he (the priest) maketh the cross with the holy *creme* upon the child's head: he putteth on him afterward the white robe, the which is called the *crysome*" (the *Ordynarye of Crysten Men*, enprynted by Wynkyn de Worde; Dibdin, *Typog. Antiq.*, ii. 105): at confirmation, around the forehead and over that part where the bishop had made the sign of the cross (with the same holy chrism he would have used to anoint a sovereign), was tied a broad long bandage of linen, and worn there, in England for three days, in most other countries for seven.

Further on, in the same note concerning the amice, Mr. Maskell again says: "For its ancient purpose it was a covering for the head. . . . . In the rubric in the text, it is directed to be applied as originally intended." Now Amalarius (*c.* A.D. 820), the earliest writer who speaks of the amice as an ecclesiastical ornament, and of its symbolism, tells us that, as "originally intended," this piece of linen was to cover the neck: Amictus est primum vestimentum nostrum quo collum undique cingimus: in collo est namque vox, ideoque per collum loquendi usus exprimitur. Per amictum intelligimus custodiam vocis. In isto primo vestimento admonetur castigatio vocis.—*De Off. Ecc.*, ii. 17. [*P.L.* cv. 1094.]

St. Bruno (who died Bishop of Segni, near Rome, A.D. 1125) talks of the amice in the same way as Amalarius did two centuries and a half before him: Et amictus quidem, quo et collum stringitur et pectus tegitur, interioris hominis castitatem designat: tegit enim cor, ne cogitet vanitates; stringit collum, ne inde ad linguam transeat mendacium (Bruno Sig. Ep., *De Consec. Ecc.*) [*P.L.* clxv. 1103]. Not a word is here said about the use of the amice as a covering for the head; and nowhere is there anything to show that, until some hundreds of years after its introduction, it was ever so worn: from the writers of the twelfth century we first hear of its being adopted to such a purpose; but ever since, we behold examples of such a practice.

[120] At Wells Cathedral, within the northern transept of the beautiful Lady Chapel, upon high tombs, lie two ecclesiastical figures, arrayed in mass-vestments, and about the neck of each, what looks like a cowl is seen to be drawn out a little over the amice.

In Beverley Minster there is a very curious cumbent effigy of a

Effigy at Beverley.

Figure of Bishop Stanbury.

amice, from which it widely differs: the cowl is the hood belonging to (486) the monks' every-day habit, and like it therefore, in colour and

priest, supposed to be of the noble house of Percy, robed in his full mass-vestments, and having his head entirely muffled by a hood-like kind of covering, which is nothing but a monastic cowl, well shown on the figure to be of some thick stuff, and drawn up from beneath the amice. In the sepulchral effigy of Bishop Stanbury, as well as in that of Bishop Mayhew—both in Hereford Cathedral, and arrayed in their pontificals—a small part only of the cowl is shown, coming out from within the apparel of the amice, which it overlaps at the back of the neck. No doubt such a mark in the vestimental attire of the above-mentioned effigies, and others which could be named, was expressly meant to betoken that those personages whom they represented, either had been monks before their elevation to Church dignities, or had chosen to take the religious habit before death.

During olden times, when this land was Catholic, a custom existed with us, as it still does in Catholic countries, for ecclesiastics and layfolks, whether men or women, upon their dying bed, to become brethren, by taking the vows of some favourite religious order, in the habit of which they were afterwards dressed for their burial. Our countryman, St. Gilbert of Sempringham, makes especial mention, in his rule, of the holy offices to be performed for such members: Susceptus quilibet in morte in habitu canonici . . . fiat pro eo sicut pro canonico vel fratre, &c. (*Institutiones Beati Gilberti*, in Dugdale, *Mon. Anglic.*, vol. vii., p. *xcii. Evidences of such a usage may be sometimes found amid our old tombs. A writer quoted by Boys, *Hist. of Sandwich*, p. 841, tells us that he saw, among the funeral monuments of St. Clement's Church, that of "one R. W., gentlewoman, there superstitiously buried in a Franciscan's habit." This practice is still followed abroad; and I remember seeing, at Rome, one of the Spanish infantas, the ex-queen of Etruria, lie in state, with all the insignia of royalty upon her person, which, however, was clad as a Dominican nun, which she had become just before she died.

The custom throughout Christendom, for bishops who had ever been monks, to be vested, when they were buried, in their monastic as well as episcopal attire, is shown by a passage in the *Chronica S. Benigni Divionensis*, wherein it is said: Similiter et Domini Argrini pontificis et Monachi sacerdotalia cum cucullo necnon interiore cilicio, vestimenta, in testimonium ipsius sanctimoniæ incorrupta sunt reperta.—D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, ii. 383 (Parisiis, 1723).

material, is of some woollen texture, (487) and black or white, brown or grey, according to the religious order; the amice is an oblong square (488) piece of fine white linen, anciently ornamented with a rich apparel stitched to it, and then, as now, fastened upon the shoulders by two strings tied about the breast.

SECTION XII

The alb, whatever minister of the Church wore it, was always tied around the waist by a

GIRDLE:

and if it be allowable to assume that the Anglo-Saxons made such an appurtenance after somewhat the same fashion, and of materials like those often bestowed upon it at that time by their near neighbours in France,[121] then was the Anglo-Saxon girdle (489) most beautiful, and infinitely more costly than the simple threaden one which we now employ. It must have often been, not cord-like as ours now is, but flat,[122] woven of gold and

[121] Habebat autem S. Salvius ministrale aureum ecclesiasticum, vestimenta ex auro et gemmis ornata, necnon et cingulum aureum micantibus gemmis et margaritis intextum.—*Vita S. Salvii* (qui florebat sæculo octavo) ab auctore coævo, in *AA. SS. Junii*, v. 199. Riculf bequeaths, along with his other vestments, A.D. 915: zonas quinque, una cum auro et gemmis pretiosis, et alias quatuor cum auro.—[*P.L.* cxxxii. 486.]

[122] Describing the girdle found upon the body of some venerable but unknown bishop, mistaken by Mr. Raine for St. Cuthberht, and taken up in Durham Cathedral (A.D. 1829), that writer says:

silver,[123] and frequently set with pearls and stones of price: even the more common ones had some kind of ornament.

(490) The girdle of the English period had its embroideries, its beautiful variety of design in its patterns, and other adornments. It was not always round, but often flat, and was not only of white thread,[124] but of silk, sometimes of one colour, sometimes of another, and formed after divers fashions.[125] All this we know from a series of documents reaching from St. Osmund's days up to the sixteenth century.[126]

Of the girdle, or *cingulum*, the portion which we were enabled to preserve measures twenty-five inches in length; its breadth is exactly seventh-eighths of an inch. It has evidently proceeded from the loom; and its two component parts are a flattish thread of pure gold, and a thread of scarlet silk, which are not combined in any particular pattern, save that, at a very short distance from each selvage, there run two or three longitudinal lines, which serve to break the uniformity of the whole. The lining is of silk.—Raine, *St. Cuthbert*, p. 209. I take this girdle to have been after even the times of St. Osmund.

[123] Among the splendid vestments procured for saying his Mass in, by Abbot Theodoric, 1182, were: Cingulos duos, unum de nigro bonoque pallio latum satis aurifrigio latitudinis trium digitorum in fine decoratum, alium de pallio varii coloris valde bonum a nodo ante ventrem cingentis cum filis aureis usque ad summitatem, operose multum crasseque undique contextum.—*Chron. Abbatiæ S. Teudonis*, lib. vi. in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, ii. 676.

[124] Our poet, John Garland, talks of the "cingtorio candidissimo" as an article of the priest's Mass-array. See before, note 17, p. 304.

[125] A chasyble of clothe of golde, &c., and a gyrdyll of sylke, made like a call, &c.—Nichols, *Churchwardens' Accts. of St. Mary Hill, London* (A.D. 1486), p. 113.

[126] In the year 1214 Salisbury Cathedral had: Zone de serico ix. et alie xii.—Wordsworth, *Salisb. Proc.*, 174.

Cingulum textum ex nodis de serico.—*Visitatio facta in Thesauro S. Pauli, Londin.* (A.D. 1295), in Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 320.

JOHN STODELY, 1515
In Over Winchendon Church, Bucks

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When broad, like those still worn by the Oriental Churches, those old girdles must have been fastened in front with a hook or clasp, as the modern (491) ones used in the Greek and Syriac rites are;[127] perhaps, too, they may have sometimes been drawn tight by means of a buckle,[128] or with

Cingulum de filo.—*Ibid.*

Cingulum de rubeo serico.—*Ibid.*, p. 321.

Cingulum de serico contextum crocei viridisque coloris.—*Ibid.*, p. 321.

Casula alba, &c., cum 1 cingulo de serico rubeo plano.

Casula rubea, &c., cum cingulo de rubeo serico brudato.

Casula rubea . . . . cum cingulo de serico mixto.—*Ornamenta Eccl. Christi Cantuar.* (A.D. 1321) [*Invent. Ch. Ch. Canterbury*, p. 65].

Unum cingulum de nigro serico.—*Capella de Wyndesore* (A.D. 1385), *Mon. Angl.*, viii. 1366.

"III. cingula, I. viride, et II. rubea," were among the sacred ornaments belonging to the collegiate church of Cobham, Kent, A.D. 1471.—Thorpe, *Regist. Roff.*, p. 241.

[127] Some girdles that I have seen used by the Greeks and the Syrians for vesting themselves, were of very rich silk, embroidered in colours and gold, in breadth between two and three inches, having large pieces of mother of pearl at both ends, where there were two gilt hooks formed in the shape of the letter S, by which they were fastened about the waist, thus ∽∽.

[128] A statue of an ecclesiastic, vested as a deacon, was, not long ago, dug up near Minster Church, Kent; and one who saw it, told me that the alb was girt about the loins with a strap, which was fastened by a buckle. Not having seen either the figure itself, or a drawing of it, I cannot vouch for the truth of this description.

But in Over Winchendon Church, Bucks, which belonged to the canons regular of St. Austin, there is the grave-brass of John Stodely (A.D. 1515), who is represented in the religious habit peculiar to that order. Beneath his black woollen cloak, or cope, as it was called, he wears a long rochet, falling low beyond the knees; and about his waist, this white linen robe is girded with what looks to be a leathern belt, which is flat, not very broad, but ornamented at both edges and at the end, that goes through its buckle, for the tongue of which holes are made all along this belt, or girdle, as may be seen from the engraving opposite.

little strings (492) sewed on at both ends.[129] When a plain round girdle was employed, it was, of course, made fast round the loins by a knot, as is done now.

SECTION XIII

But besides the girdle, it is probable that, like the prelates of the other parts of the Church, our Anglo-Saxon bishops were girt with

The Subcingulum,

or broad belt,[130] from which hung down (so however (493) as to be almost always hidden by the

[129] The two girdles found upon the body of Pope Boniface VIII. were different in the make, shape, and manner of being put on, from those we now use, and quite warrant the ideas brought forward above. Describing the vestments in which the pontiff's body was discovered robed, one who was officially present at the opening of the tomb says : Rocchettus . . . cingebatur cingulo ex corio serico rubro cooperto in modum zonulæ cum quatuor cordulis sericeis rubris ante pendentibus stringentibus zonam. . . . Cingulum pontificale ex serico rubro et viridi pulchre quidem intextum cum suis cordulis sericeis ante pendentibus suisque globulis et flocis. —Grimaldus in Dionysius, *Vaticanæ Basil. Crypt. Monumenta*, p. 129.

[130] The pontifical girdle of St. Wulstan, the last Anglo-Saxon bishop of Worcester, was kept with great respect as a relic at Glastonbury, when John, the historian of that far-famed monastery, wrote : De zona pontificali S. Wlstani.—*Johannes Glaston.*, p. 452. Gilbert, Bishop of Limerick (A.D. 1090), expressly enumerates this kind of belt among the ornaments assigned to bishops as a mark of their dignity : Utitur etiam episcopus, pro dignitatis honore, baculo et annulo, chirothecis et mitra, baltheo, dalmatica, et sandalis.—*De Usu Ecclesiastico* [*P.L.*, clix. 1002]. Gilbert had noticed the girdle, or "cingulum," for the priest, a little before.—*Ibid.* [1001].

folds of their fine flowing chasuble) two appendages like purses,[131] the only memorial of which now left is the appendage, like a maniple, hanging on the left side from the girdle of the Roman pontiff when he celebrates Mass on solemn occasions.

In the continental parts of the Latin Church it is certain that, about the middle of the ninth century, the custom was, for a bishop, on solemn occasions, to bind his alb, not only with a girdle, like any other priest, but also with a belt. This we learn from a collection of prayers for the private devotion of prelates at the public service, and written, most likely, towards the above-mentioned period,—for (494) such is the *Ordo Sacramentorum* found out by M. Flaccus Illyricus, and since reprinted by Bona and Martene. That little work makes an especial distinction between these two kinds of girdles, and sets down a particular form of prayer to be said by the bishop as he puts on each one of them:

Oratio ad albam.

Omnipotens, &c.

Ad cingulum.

Circumcinge lumbos meos, Domine, zona justitiæ, et circumcide vitia cordis et corporis mei.

[131] In some of the oldest foreign inventories of sacred ornaments, these appendages, or, as they were better called, "purses," are noticed as being over-wrought with gold. A little after the "balteum aureum" we come to "punga auro parata," set down among the many other beautiful things for the altar, provided by Angilbert, Abbot of St. Riquier-en-Ponthieu, A.D. 754.—[*Chron. Centul.*, ii. 6; *P.L.*, clxxiv. 1248.]

Ad præcinctorium.

Præcinge me, Domine, virtute, et pone immaculatam viam meam.—In Martene, *De Antiq. Ecc. Rit.*, tom. i., lib. i. c. iv. art. xii. p. 177.

A little later, in a codex of the Mass, written out at the request of Ratoldus (who died A.D. 986), the same distinction between these two sorts of girdles may be seen; but the episcopal one, instead of "præcinctorium," is called "baltheum,"—either word means the same thing:

Postea ministret ei (episcopo) *albam*, &c.

Postea ministret ei cingulum, &c.

> Scrutator cordis, et castæ mentis amator,
> Tu lumbos præcinge meos, Deus intime judex,
> Mortificans pravos in casto corpore gestus.

Postea detur ei baltheum pudicitiæ:

Rogo te, altissime Deus Sabaoth, Pater sancte, ut me castigare digneris, accingere, et meos lumbos baltheo tui timoris ambire, et renès cordis mei tuæ caritatis igne urere, &c.—In Menard, *S. Gregorii Lib. Sacramentorum*, p. 260 [*P.L.* lxxviii. 240].

(495) But the use of this broad ornamented belt, worn along with, and over, the common girdle, was not confined to bishops: the dignified clergy, and, it would seem, all priests in general, who had to sing solemn High Mass, were, by the rubrics observed in some countries, to be girded with it. The abbot of St. Trudon's, Theodoric (A.D. 1102), provided himself, for saying Mass, with "cingulos duos . . . sed et Balteum" (D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, ii. 676); and in an Order of the Mass, published from a manuscript of the twelfth century, in the Vatican Library, by Georgi (*Liturgia Rom. Pon.*, iii. 532), and having this title, "Incipit Ordo qualiter Presbyter ad Missam canendam se debeat præparare," we see that the priest is first to put on

the girdle, then the belt, saying a prayer as he invested himself with each:

Ad zonam.

Circumdet Dominus lumbos mentis meæ et vitia cordis mei.

Ad cingulum.

Accinge, Deus, gladium tuum super fœmur tuum, potentissime, ut viriliter possim contra inimicos tuos dimicare, spe firma veritatis æternæ.

Our own John of Salisbury, in one of his letters to Alexander III., reminds that pontiff of the belt—very likely one of these vestimental ones—which he had deigned to bestow upon him (*c.* A.D. 1172): Annulum proprium mihi contulistis et balteum.—*Epist.* xlii. [*P.L.* cxcix. 26].

About this very time, the end of the twelfth century, we find that this ornament was used by all bishops, and that it then began to be looked upon as particularly reserved to them, with the exclusion of the rest of the clergy; for, besides other writers, Pope Innocent III. and (496) St. Thomas of Aquino tell us that it is to be ranked among the vestments allotted to the exclusive use of the episcopal order. The Roman pontiff says: Sex enim sunt indumenta communia episcopis et presbyteris, videlicet amictus, alba, cingulum, stola, manipulus, et planeta. . . . Novem autem sunt ornamenta pontificum specialia, videlicet caligæ, sandalia, succinctorium, tunica, dalmatica, mitra, et chirothecæ, annulus et baculus — Innocent, *De Altaris Mysterio*, i. 10 [*P.L.* ccxvii. 780, 781]. For almost the same words of St. Thomas (A.D. 1255), see his lib. iv., dist. xxiv., art. iii., *in Magist. Sent.* In every likelihood this second kind of girdle continued to be such, and was worn as late as the sixteenth century by some bishops, not only here in England, but elsewhere.

Now, however, it is used in the Latin Church by the Pope only.

But what was its ancient shape? Bruno of Segni, writing A.D. 1089, says of it, in his explanation of what the episcopal ornaments mean: Ab hoc autem cingulo, sive tinctorio duplex subcinctorium pendet — *De Consec. Eccl.* [*P.L.* clxv. 1104]. Hugh of St. Victor (A.D. 1120) describes it in much the same terms: Per subcingulum quod perizoma vel cinctorium dicitur, eleemosynarum studium significatur. Hoc duplicatum suspenditur—*De Officiis Eccles.*, i. 49 [*P.L.* clxxvii. 404]. So does Honorius of Autun (A.D. 1130): Subcingulum quod perizoma vel subcinctorium dicitur circa pudenda duplex suspenditur, &c.—*Gemma Animæ*, i. 206, Hittorp, p. 1232. From such notices, though few and short, the subcingulum, always put on immediately after the stole, seems to have been a broad belt, from which hung down,—rather in front (according to what Honorius says) than on the sides of the prelate,—two short appendages. Not only the full folds of the old chasuble, but the very (497) way itself in which these appendages fell on the before-part of the wearer's person, in most instances must have hindered them from being well seen upon the officiating bishop, or pontiff, amid his other vestments. We can, therefore, easily understand why they are not shown upon any of the monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity still spared us in this country; nor upon one of the many effigies of the Popes to be found in the churches of Rome, though the supreme pontiff is girt, to this day, with the subcingulum, made in the form of a girdle, having on the left side an appendage like a maniple, according to Bona, *Rer. Lit.*, lib. i., cap. xxiv., § xv. I have never met with but one lonely instance of these appendages of the subcingulum being indicated in any work of art, and that is the figure of one of the Popes, done in fresco, upon the wall of the *Sagro Speco*, at Subiaco,

during the pontificate of Innocent III. (A.D. 1198–1216), by magister Conxolus, and figured above, p. 380.

In this curious painting are represented the two fretted angular ends, peeping out from between the folds of the chasuble—one beneath the right arm, the other beneath the left, of some square-shaped appendages falling down diamond-wise, similar to the *ἐπιγονάτιον* worn from their girdle, on the right side, by bishops of the Greek rite.

I cannot help thinking but these two appendages were shaped like, and served as, pockets. Cencio de Sabellis, (498) the Roman chamberlain, in the "Ordo Romanus" which he drew up towards the end of the twelfth century, tells us that, in those days, when a newly-chosen pope took solemn possession of his cathedral church of St. John Lateran, "he was girt with a belt of crimson silk, hanging from which there was a purse, which had in it twelve precious stones and some musk . . . the belt was meant to signify continence and chastity; the purse, almsgiving to the widows and the needy ones of Christ; the twelve stones, the power of the apostles; the musk, a good odour in the sight of God." Cingitur (electus) ab eodem priore zona rubea de serico, in qua dependet bursa purpurea, in qua sunt xii sigilla pretiosorum lapidum, et muscus. . . . In zona notatur continentia castitatis, in bursa gazophylacium, quo pauperes Christi nutriantur et viduæ. In xii sigillis, xii apostolorum potestas designatur; muscus includitur ad percipiendum odorem, ut ait apostolus: Christus bonus odor sumus Deo.—*Ordo Romanus* XII. in Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* ii. 212 [*P.L.* lxxviii].

But to come home to England, and begin with its liturgical practices during Anglo-Saxon times. In the year 1224, there was found, in Dorchester Church, near Oxford, the body, if not of St. Birinus, at least of some Anglo-Saxon bishop. Among other vestments upon it, were: Duæ stolæ sed non integræ. . . . Inventa est

etiam crumena quædam serica super pectus eius itemque pera ex una parte auro contexta, &c. (*Vita S. Birini*, in Surius, vi. 688). The "crumena," or "burse," found lying on the breast of the dead prelate, may, most likely, have once held a corporal, with the blessed sacrament wrapped up within it, as was conjectured by those who had opened the grave: In qua (crumena) omnes asserebant pallam . . . cum Christi corpore fuisse (*Ibid.*). But with regard to the "pera," or gold-woven purse, it appears to have been (499)—like the one noticed by Cencio—a pocket hung from a girdle, and worn by the saint when solemnly arrayed; thus affording presumptive proof that, in Anglo-Saxon times, the bishops of this country wore, at great functions, a "subcingulum," with its appendages, for the same symbolic reasons as those assigned by the writers already quoted. I suspect, too, that the "duo pendentia cum aurifrisio," surrendered—among so many other beautiful Anglo-Saxon vestments of Ely Church—to the Norman pillagers sent round by William, were the pendants of an episcopal belt (*MS. Cotton, Titus A.* i, fol. 24ᵛ). However little seen might be such parts of the sacrificial attire as the "subcingulum," no less a degree of ornament was bestowed upon it than on the other more conspicuous ones; for the continental churches, we have the account of the vestments provided for his monastery, by Robert, Abbot of St. Florentius, near Angers, in France (A.D. 1004): Ternas quoque inter quasdam alias auro late circumtextas decoravit albas, stolamque ac manipulum eodem ornatu composuit, in quibus pendentes ad præcinctorium palmulelæ tintinnabulis organizabant argenteis — *Hist. Monast. S. Florentii, Salmur.* in Martene, *Vet. Script.* v. 1107. For Saxon England, the "pera auro contexta," if we be right in our guess as to its appropriation, will afford no bad sample of the richness of that same episcopal ornament when worn by our Anglo-Saxon bishops

A slight change, it would seem, was, after the pontificate of Innocent III., made in the "subcingulum"; for when Durandus wrote (A.D. 1286), instead of two, it had hanging to it but one pocket, or appendage, which was double, and on the left-hand side, as it is now worn by the Pope. Sane a sinistro latere pontificis, ex cingulo duplex dependet succinctorium—*Rationale*, iii. 4. From the near resemblance which this appendage (500) (or "succinctorium," in its altered form), bore to a maniple, it began, some years after the time of Durandus, to be called by that name. In an "Ordo Missæ Pontificalis," published by Georgi, from a Vatican manuscript of the end of the fourteenth century, it is so named. Et primo induit (pontifex) sibi albam, deinde cinctorium cum manipulo ad sinistram partem.—*Liturgia Rom. Pont.*, iii. 556.

Thus far we have treated principally of such vestments as every priest must himself have on, or be at least worn by those who, on solemn occasions, wait upon him whilst he offers up the Holy Sacrifice; and we have found that on this, as well as every other point, the ritual of the Norman St. Osmund, for Salisbury, differed in nothing from the one which had been followed by all the Anglo-Saxon bishops who had theretofore governed the Church in this country.

APPENDIX

EXCERPTA

EX

ORDINARIO

TOTIUS ANNI

AD USUM

ALICUJUS MONASTERII

ORDINIS CISTERCIENSIS

IN AGRO EBORACENSI QUONDAM SITI

ORDINARIUS TOTIUS ANNI CISTERCIENSIS

In Adventu Domini

In prima dominica incipitur ad vigilias Ysaias, et deinceps totus legatur per Adventum, non solum ad vigilias in choro, et etiam in refectorio. *fol.* i.

Post Danielem, leguntur XII prophete per ordinem ad mensam . . . ad mensam legitur vita Sancti Nycollai, si tempus petierit. *fol.* i. *b.*

Ad mensam legitur evangelium. Si tempus petierit, tunc legitur passio Lucie virginis, vel Barbare. *C.* X. Ad mensam legitur evangelium, et postea sermones. . . . Ad cenam legitur evangelium de dominica. *C.* XXIV. Ad mensam leguntur sermones Augustini. *C.* XI.

Est autem consuetudo quod singulis annis legatur in abbaciis nostri ordinis vetus et novum Testamentum ex integro. *C.* XII.

In prima dominica (Adventus) una lampas tantum accendatur ad majus altare. *fol.* i.

Matutinalis missa et major missa (cantantur). *ibid.* Ista die (prima dominica Adventus) ebdomadarius missam celebrat, non abbas. *ibid.*

In secunda feria, et in festo Andree, conversi laborant sicut in omnibus festivitatibus transportatis. *ibid. b.*

Cotidie mixtum sumitur exceptis vigiliis sanctorum, et diebus IIII temporum, id est, feria IIII, VI, et sabbato. *fol.* ii. *b.*

In Vigilia Nativitatis Domini

abbas celebrat missam cum duobus ministris. . . . Ad missam "*Kyriel*'," quod consuetum est aliis dominicis diebus cantari. In capitulo quando legitur historia "*Christus Filius Dei*," etc., totus conventus toto corpore prosternitur in pavimento, et dicant omnes orationem dominicam, et "*Ave Maria.*" Et postea, dato signo ab eo qui presidet, omnes pariter surgunt. *Cap.* XVI.

Secundam missam debet cantor loco Abbatis celebrare. *C.* XVII.

In Nocte Nativitatis Domini

pulsato modice signo scilicet maiori campana a sacrista, preparent se ad missam de nativitate qui in tabula sunt intitulati. Preparatis vero ministris indutis sacris vestibus, et iterum signo pulsato cum parvula campana, statim ut conveniant facientes in chorum, missa celebretur sicut in natili unius Apostoli, una collecta tantum. Expleta missa et facto intervallo, minor campana pulsetur, et laudes cantentur . . . et, facto intervallo, sacrista solito more, signo ministros convocet altaris ad preparandos se ad matutinalem missam. *C.* XVIII.

Leguntur sermones de Circumcisione ad mensam, vel passio Thome Martyris, si sermones minus sufficiant. *C.* XXVIII.

De Feriis II et III ante Quadragesimam.

Notandum quod feria ii et iii post Dominicam "*Esto mihi*" in quinquagesima, sumitur mixtum et predictis duobus diebus conventus non recipit disciplinam, sed tantum utimur cibis quadragesimalibus. *C.* L.

Distributio Librorum et Officiorum

Dominica prima in quadragesima legantur in capitulo illa duo capitula per lectore regulari (*sic*) "*Licet omni tempore*," etc. Quo facto cum abbas dixerit . . . "*loquamini de ordine nostro*" . . . statim dicitur per presidem capitulum. Antequam venie petantur, surgat cantor et socii ejus et distribuant libros. Tunc cantor prius dat abbati libellum primum cum duabus manibus et inclinat ei profunde et abbas e contra cum duabus manibus librum accipiens inclinat, et postea dant in choro suo cantor et intonator circuientes libros monachis, et succentor in choro suo prius dat priori et postea reliquis. . . . Et postquam omnes libros acceperint, tunc cantor major dat librum succentori et intonatori. Huic capitulo intersunt infirmi libros cum accepturi. Libris distributis petant veniam qui voluerint. In secundo, veniam accipiant circuitores claustri et ministri abbatis et ceteri venias de negligenciis suis si recognoscant deliquisse. Postea abbas designat fratres qui, secundum regulas, horis quibus vacuerint fratres lectioni, per totum annum circuiant monasterium. Qui circuitores provideant de hiis officiis, de claustro et ambitu qui est intra septum muri, de oratorio, capitulo, dormitorio, calefactorio, refectorio, coquina, auditorio, ne forte se habeat aliquis inordinate: et propter hoc possunt ingredi predictas officinas omnes preter auditorio in quo scilicet auditorio solummodo respiciunt dum circuiant claustri ambitum. *C.* LII.

Feria IIII in Capite Ieiunii

facientes discalcient se in claustro, et sacerdote induto alba et manipulo et stola, et ministro suo induto tantum alba et manipulo, signoque pulsato in minori campana, ministri altaris ingrediuntur nudis pedibus

in presbyterium, et conventus interim chorum discalciatus, versis vultibus ad altare stantes donec cantor incipiat "*Exurge*" etc. Quam dum incipit, vertant chori vultus ad invicem demum usque dicatur "*Deus auribus,*" et "*Gloria Patri*" inclinando dicunt. Interim cantor reincipit "*Exurge.*" Quo quidem cantato usque ad versum "*Deus auribus*" sicut nobis solet fieri ad introitum, sacerdos in presbyterio stando dicit verso ad orientem vultu, "*Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam.*" Chorus respondet, "*Et salutare tuum da nobis*" versis vultibus ad altare, et statim chori dicentes, voce mediocri incipiente cantore, "*Kyrie eleeson, Christe eleeson, Kyrie eleeson,*" "*Pater noster,*" etc. fratres super formas dicentes "*Pater noster,*" sub silentio. Demum sacerdos prostratus in presbiterio dicat "*Et ne nos inducas*" etc., chorus respondet "*sed libera nos a malo.*" Tunc in suo choro cantor incipit, "*Deus misereatur,*" qui psalmus ab utrolibet choro dicatur alternatim.

Dum collecta dicitur, cantor surgit de forma ubi jacuit in choro suo, et portat librum abbati super gradum presbiterii ubi benedicendi sunt cineres ab abbate. Abbas accepta stola et baculo pastorali a sacristano, benedicit cineres verso vultu ad aquilonem et aqua benedicta eos aspergat. Cantor incipit antiphonam "*Exaudi*" *&c.* . . . Abbas, deposita stola et baculo, veniens ad gradum presbiterii et genuflexo sub eodem gradu accipiat ipse prius cineres ab ebdomadario sacerdote. Quibus acceptis, erigens se resumpta stola stet super gradum et verso vultu ad chorum ponat in modum crucis super singulos sacros cineres, incipiens a sacerdote misse et ejus ministris, et post a senioribus secundum ordinem, det usque ad novicios, omnibus genua flectentibus super gradum ante abbatem, dicens "*Memento,*" *&c.* Et dum cineres det, sedeat qui voluerit. Hoc intelligitur de senioribus qui non stare diutius possunt. Si congregatio major fuerit, secundum dispositionem abbatis per diversa

loca cineres distribuantur. Cum omnes per impositionem cinerum corruptionis vel fragilitatis fuerint admoniti, tunc abbas, deposita stola, veniat in chorum in stallum suum. Absente abbate, ebdomadarius misse cineres benedicit in eodem loco quo aqua benedicta et sal solet benedici. Quibus benedictis ipse ebdomadarius cum suo ministro prius accipiat cineres quam alii fratres ab aliquo sacerdote seniori stola induto, cui cantor hoc jusserit. Et postea ipse imponat cineres illi sacerdoti a quo ipse prius accepit, et postea ebdomadarius revertat in locum suum, et idem senior deponat stolam dum cineres accipit. Quos cum acceperit iterum sumpta stola sua det et ceteris omnibus secundum ordinem accedentibus et similiter noviciis et postea conversis. Dum cineres fratribus imponuntur ab abbate vel sacerdote, teneat eos ante eum aliquis minor monachus cui jusserit cantor. Cantore itaque incipiente "*Immutemur*," &c., sacerdos et ministri calcient se descendentes in vestiarium, et signo pulsato accedant ad altare ad celebrandam missam. Ceteri autem discalciati remaneant donec missa peracta sit ex toto, et tunc se calcient. Post elevationem hostie, subcentor ecclesie cum suo socio exeuntes calcient se ad deferendos carbones in ecclesiam, si frigus est. Prior imponat familie et hospitibus cineres si affuerint extra chorum adjuncto sibi aliquo fratre qui eosdem cineres ei teneat. *C.* LII.

Velum Quadragesimale.

Post completorium, cruces pannis albis cooperiantur et linteis; et cortina ante presbiterium tendatur que sic remaneat privatis diebus per quadragesima usque ad feriam iiij ante pascha, et tunc post completorium deponitur. In sabbatis vero, et in vigiliis sanctorum quando xii lectiones sunt, tunc retrahatur ante vesperas, et iterum in crastino post completorium re-

mittatur a sacrista. Item presente defuncto, retrahatur ad missam, et ad commendationem defuncti si stet in cineres, donec septem psalmi post sepulturam finiantur. Et ad benedictionem novicii, tunc retrahatur, et vi^{ta} feria ad septem psalmos. Item privatis diebus ad missam, subdiaconus partem cortine usque abbatem modice tollat quando subdiaconus ad altare fuerit, ut sacerdos petat benedictionem ab abbate ad evangelium legendum: quod si ministri fuerint, diaconus simili modo accedat ad medium cortine ubi sublevata est querens benedictionem ab abbate. Per hos dies debet crux discooperiri quando defertur ad communicandum infirmum, vel ad uncionem, sive ad sepulturam. *C.* LIV.

In Dominica Palmarum

finita tertia, abbas, recepta virga pastorali, super gradum presbiterii stans, verso vultu ad aquilonem, benedicat ramos arborum, et postea aquam benedictam aspergat. Quibus peractis cantor offerat abbati ramum et ministris ejus. Hoc facto statim incipiat voce mediocri antiphonam "*Pueri hebreorum*" . . . et sacrista cum suis sociis et aliis monachis, ramos benedictos monachis et noviciis distribuat a senioribus incipiens; reliquam autem partem conversis et hospitibus si adsunt, et familie porrigent (*sic*). Interim, predicta antiphona finita, cantor incipiat aliam. Et cum hec antiphona canitur, succentor innuit laicis monachis qui in omnibus processionibus solent precedere minores monachos, ut preparent se ante gradum presbiterii. Hiis itaque ordinatis, incipiente cantore antiphonam "*Occurrerunt*," &c. prius duo monachi cum cereis exeant, demum subdiaconus cum aqua benedicta, et postea diaconus cum cruce lignea discooperta. Quem subsequatur conventus eo ordine quo stat in choro, laicis monachis preuntibus, ita ut abbas, vel sacerdos ebdomadarius

si abbas defuerit, eat posterior, et post abbatem, novicii, et post novicios conversi, et fiat processio per claustrum. In ultima statione incipiente cantore antiphonam "*Ave Rex*," totus conventus flectat genua versus crucem manus in terram ponens et subter articulos versis vultibus ad crucem, diacono et subdiacono stantibus sicut ante steterunt. Dicto "*Ave Rex*," &c. conventus se erigens stat versis vultibus ad crucem usque dum incipiatur "*Gloria, Laus*," &c. Interim dum canitur "*Ave Rex*," sacrista deferat analogium et pulpitum quem ipse ante tertiam locavit in capitulo cum textu Evangeliorum et stola; ad illum locum ubi diaconus evangelium lecturus est, hoc est ante hostium ecclesie. Circa finem hujus antiphone "*Ave Rex*," &c. diaconus porrigat crucem subdiacono, et idem subdiaconus interim dum crucem tenet, ponat deorsum super terram aquam benedictam. Cum vero diaconus stola fuerit amictus, et cum posuerit solito more stolam circa vel super humeros suos petat benedictionem ab abbate parumper se movendo ab analogio, et accepta benedictione, solemniter legat evangelium verso vultu contra aquilonem, subdiacono ante eum cum cruce astante verso vultu ad conventum. Perlecto evangelio, deponat stolam et reaccipiat diaconus crucem, et subdiaconus aquam benedictam resumat. Tunc interim stat conventus versis vultibus ad invicem. Perlecto evangelio, duo monachi qui a cantore ad "*Gloria, Laus*" in tabula designati sunt, introeant ecclesiam circa finem evangelii, et clauso modice hostio stantes versa facie ad processionem cantent distincte et morose versus predictos scilicet "*Gloria, Laus*" sicut in libris stant ordinati, conventu ad singulos versus eis respondente sicut notatum est in graduali. Quibus finitis et eorumdem versuum primo repetito a predictis duobus monachis, redeant hii duo monachi et stent in ordine suo ad processionem sicut ceteri. Expletis itaque

hiis duobus versibus scilicet "*Gloria, Laus,*" etc. et "*Cui parvuli,*" abbas incipit "*Ingrediente,*" et tunc omnes intrant ecclesiam scilicet cantando hoc responsorio cum versu suo et repetitione, cum ramis. Ramos quos portant in manibus intrantibus (*sic*) chorum reponant super tabulam que est super gradum presbiterii posita. Que omnia sacrista continuo auferat. Diaconus autem ponat crucem in locum suum super altare, et ibi remaneat discooperta usque post completum. Postea celebrabitur missa. Notandum quod hospitibus non licet procedere ad processiones que fuerint per claustrum, nec intrare capitulum ad sermones, nisi fuerit aliqua persona tam reverenda et honesta cum quo permitti debeat. *C.* LXI.

De Cena Domini.

In cena Domini major campana pulsetur ad vigilias. Conversi surgant ad primam vigiliam. (Notandum post nocturnos tunc accipimus disciplinam per istos tres dies.) Celebrabitur missa ab abbate solempniter sicut in natali unius Apostoli cum duobus ministris et sine flexione genuum. Omnesque monachi et novicii ad altare majus communicent, et conversi qui infra abbaciam fuerint ad sanctam crucem communicent, et illi de infirmario, a quolibet sacerdote cui cantor jusserit, ad altare Beati Bernhardi. Diaconus autem abbati imponat tot hostias consecrandas ad majus altare ut ipsa die fratribus omnibus scilicet monachis et noviciis sufficiatur, ut tamen possit post sacram communionem reservari tam pro officio sequentis diei quam pro infirmis communicandis. Ad hanc missam cantatur solempne "*Kyrie,*" "*Credo.*" Cottidiana prefacio dicitur.

Post pacem diaconus ponat vasculum et pixidem cum corpore Domini super altare, et accipiat abbas omnes hostias de eodem vasculo, et ponat eas super

patenam ipsa hora ut omnes ille hostie prius consumantur a fratibus, antequam alie hostie dentur communicantibus que hodie sunt consecrate. Interim et panniculus de pixide auferatur a sacrista, et statim alius pannus mundus reponatur in ipso vasculo. Illo quoque linteo (involuto ?), mox abbas vel qui cantat missam, accipiat de patena quatuor hostias vel sex consecratas, imponat in predicto vasculo in crastinum honorifice reservandas. Et tunc linteum vetus super patenam diligentius et bene excussum ne aliqua mica vel particula intus remaneat, comburatur super piscinam et cineres in ipsam projiciantur. Et sciendum quod hac die privata missa non est ab aliquo dicenda nec pro conversis communicandis. . . . Post vi^{am} (sextam) portarius tot pauperes eligat quot monachi sunt in cenobio, nec abbas committat ut predictos pauperes congregat. Hii pauperes non suscipiantur omnes ad orationem sed in uno loco maneant donec ducantur ad mandatum in claustri ambitum. Interim autem dum ix^{na} cantatur, conversus laicus adjutor monachi hospitalis et ceteri conversi quos cellarius jusserit, ducant pauperes in claustrum ibique eos faciant sedere, et se discalciare super fenum quod positum est ibidem. Incipiant quoque pauperes ad illud hostium ecclesie sedere ubi monachi solent exire de ecclesia in claustrum, sicque super illam scampnam sedebunt ubi conventus ad collacionem solet sedere. Vasa et lintea et tersoria ad mandatum necessaria, aquam quoque calidam illuc conversi deferant, et omnia ordinate disponant. Que videlicet vasa et cetera necessaria, cellarius provideat eis. Dicta vero nona, exeant fratres de ecclesia incipientibus a prioribus eo ordine quo privatis diebus et in die Natalis Domini unus post unum vadant in capitulum, ita ut abbas omnes pauperes transeat usque ad ultimum; et sic ante pauperes predictos permanentes vel stantes faciant in claustro mandatum eisdem pauperibus. Porro fratres laici, ut illius sancti mandati cooperatores existant, aquam et tersoria monachis

mandatum facientibus competenter et diligenter administrent. Cellarius, autem, qui denarios porrigit monachis ad opus pauperum, innuat, et significet externis monachis in ordine ut adimpleant officium mandati in pauperibus monachorum infirmorum, et abscencium, et portarii. Qui scilicet pauperes debent collocari in ultimo ordine et in extrema parte aliorum pauperum. Infirmis de infirmario qui adesse poterint, liceat sedere. Et postquam abluerint, et exterserint et osculati fuerint pedes pauperum, tunc et ipsi monachi linteo manus suas, ita stando ante pauperes, extergant. Quo facto cellarius det cuilibet monacho denarium unum, et illos denarios dabunt singulis pauperibus. Qui denarii flexis genibus sunt dandi a monachis et manus pauperum osculande. Abbas, vero, det suo pauperi duos novos calcios. Postea omnes simul erigant se fratres et veniam petentes ante pauperes, dicant hunc versum "*Suscepimus Deus*," &c. Demum percussa tabula, eant ad opera manuum, si tempus permiserit et priori visum fuerit opportune. Pauperes autem ducantur ad cellam hospicii, et abbas assumptis secum monachis aliquibus eant ad pauperes ubi fundant aquam in manibus eorum abbas et predicti monachi, et postea reficiantur in hospicio ipsi pauperes. Et sciendum quod hac sacra die, omnes supervenientes hospites caritative sunt reficiendi pane et pulmento hora competente, et hoc sit pro reverentia dominice cene vel dominici mandati.

Expleto igitur mandato pauperum, sacrista discooperiat altaria; et cum tempus fuerit, vespera pulsetur tabula lignea. Primo signo audito si sint in labore fratres, redeant in claustrum, et cum iij signum ductum fuerit, conventus intrans chorum cantat vesperam alte sicut aliis diebus.

Ab hac hora scilicet vespertina, usque ad vigilias Pasche dum cantatur "*Et in terra pax hominibus*," &c., non pulsatur campana in ecclesia, set nec in orologio, nec in refectorio. *C.* LXIIII.

De Mandato in Cena Domini.

Postquam conventus a mensa surrexerit, fratres qui eadem die in capitulo ad mandatum faciendum notati sunt in tabula, cum priore eant ad aliquem locum vel in infirmarium ubi liceat eis loqui; et ibi accipient lintea et pelves a cellario; sic quidem prior ordinabit cum eis quod quilibet debet habere, et quomodo ad mandatum sit faciendum. Medius, autem, cellarius aquam callidam monachis ad mandatum faciendum per conversos sufficienter solet administrare. Hanc aquam non deferant monachi in claustrum, set conversi. Et cum seniores a mensa surrexerint, facto parvo intervallo, percutiat sacrista tabulam in ecclesia; et eant fratres solito more bibere in refectorio. Demum sacrista pulset predictas tabulas ad mandatum. Itaque conventu simul in claustro residente sicut in sabbato ad mandatum, ac priore locum abbatis tenente, incipiat cantor antiphonam "*Dominus Ihs.*" Presentibus infirmis qui adesse poterint, et conversis hic inde residentibus in claustro, scilicet post ultimos monachos ac postremos novicios, in ordine suo. Tunc abbas et coadjutores ejus linteis precincti lavent, et tergant, et osculentur eorum pedes, ita ut abbas tantum, xii hominum pedes lavet, et iiii monachorum, et iiii noviciorum, et iiii simul conversorum, quod si unus conversorum defuerit, de conversis suppleatur. Servitores, vero, lavatoribus deputentur hoc modo; abbati dentur duo, ceteris, autem, unicuique unus, qui et aquam et lintea sufficienter administret. Quotiescunque, autem, ante priorem transierint, inclinent tam abbas quam ceteri, set non est abbati tunc inclinandum nec assurgendum ab aliquo quum ante eos transierit preter priorem: ille solus inclinat cum abbas per eum in aliam partem transit. Et cum abbas et ceteri lavatores de capitulo exeunt scilicet ad processionem

et initium hujus mandati, hoc est, cum pedes incipiant lavare, tunc conventus debet quiete sedere nec assurgere abbati, nec inclinare. Peracto itaque obsequio, abbas lavet pedes duorum subministrorum suorum, et ceteri se invicem lavent. Novissime, vero, lavet abbati pedes unus ex suis ministris qui est prior inter eos et junior conversorum et osculetur. Post hæc tam abbas quam ceteri vicissim sibi aquam in manibus fundant. Demum cucullis induti veniant ad locum in quo septimanarii coquine solent inclinare in sabbatis ad mandatum, et ibidem inclinent. Et tunc, priore assurgente abbatique cedente, omnes pariter surgant, eoque resedente resedeant. In eundo autem ad sedendum et ad lavandum veniendo, debent illi de choro abbatis precedere qui sunt xii minores scilicet ante seniores et priores suos; et postea abbas incedat, et post abbatem alii xij de choro prioris eant in ultimum hujus processionis, et abbas in medio istorum lavatorum vadat. *C.* LXIV.

In Parascheve.

In parascheve post laudes parvo intervallo facto, discalcient se fratres in dormitorio, et infirmi in infirmario non minus conveniant. Demum lignea tabula pulsetur et conventus veniat in chorum ad primam dicendam, et oratio dominicalis scilicet "*Pater Noster*" tum fiat super formas. Dicta autem prima que morose dicitur sicut laudes et omnes alie hore diei hujus, exeuntes de choro sequentur abbatem eo ordine quo stant in choro et intrent capitulum sedeatque abbas ad dextram cum choro suo priorque ad sinistram cum choro suo in introitu capituli; et post eos eo ordine omnes sedeant quo de choro processerint, ac psalterium ex integro persolvant abbate incipiente illud, et alternatim versus psalmorum dicunt parvam in medio pausulam in quolibet versu faciendo. Expleto psal-

terio[1] per totam diem vacent fratres lectioni. Qui autem voluerint, accipiant ad privata altaria disciplinas quantumcumque volunt usque ad nonam pro reverencia passionis dominice doloribus x et ejus beate passioni compaciendo. Post nonam induant se abbas et ministri duo ad officium. Interim autem sacrista operiat superficiem altaris majoris mundis pallis, et duo luminaria circa altare accendantur ab uno ministrorum ut festivis diebus solet fieri. Demum pulsata tabula ad officium veniat conventus in chorum, et legatur sine titulo lectio "*In tribulacione sua.*" Que dum incipitur abbas ingrediatur cum duobus ministris stola et manipulo induti ad altare nudis pedibus, eat directe ad altare stans in dextro cornu ejus indutus vestibus sacris et casula, et ministri stent in loco ubi ad collectam stare solent. Finita, autem, lectione incipiat cantor tractum "*Domine audivi*"—Demum legitur lectio "*Dixit Dominus ad Moysem*" a subdiacono induto manipulo, et hæc sine titulo legitur et non sicut epistola set plane sicut alia lectio. Interim abbas sedeat, et ministri ejus. Perlecta lectione incipiatur tractus in choro . . . et cantatur alternatim. Demum sequitur passio. . . . Finita passione, sequuntur orationes solempne, et circa finem orationum duo presbiteri vel duo diaconi induant se cum albis absque manipulo et stola, et antequam finiatur ultima collecta retro altare ambo venientes crucem accipiant linteo panno cooperta, et finitâ ultimâ collectâ portent eam reverenter per duo ejusdem crucis brachia ante gradum altaris ubi adorari debet. Abbate et ministris ejus descendente ab altari in vestiarium ibique suam casulam deponat, et ministri ejus manipulos et stolam, et sic revertantur. Postea vero predicti duo fratres, flexis poplitibus et genibus cantent "*Popule meus*" tenentes sic coopertam, scilicet unus ad dextram, et alter ad levam:

[1] Verbum hoc semper scribitur in MS. *spa*lterium.

duo quoque fratres stantes ante gradum presbiterii cantantes "*Agyos O Theos,*" et mox flectant genua sua in eodem loco. Demum erecti cantent ceteri scilicet "*Agyos yschiros,*" etc. Quo predicto, respondeat chorus cantore inchoante "*Sanctus Deus,*" et petat tunc chorus veniam. Demum erigentes se chori cetera percantent. Quo predicto illi duo fratres qui crucem tenent interim suum versum percantent sic super genua manendo "*Quia ego.*" Quo finito item duo fratres stantes ante gradum presbiterii cantent "*Agyos O Theos;*" et tunc flectant genua eo modo ut agentes sicut supra predictum est, et istud faciendum est talibus vicibus; similiter et chorus faciat. Et dum incipitur a choro ultimus "*Sanctus Deus*" illi duo qui crucem tenent eam adorent singulariter, scilicet, unus post unum, et osculentur eam. Finito itaque cantu, "*Sanctus Deus,*" illi duo qui crucem tenent detegentes eam incipiant antiphonam sic super genua manendo "*Ecce lignum.*" Et mox e contra petat totus conventus veniam super genua et articulos, et tunc alie cruces discooperiantur. Abbas autem solus crucem adoret et osculetur; et post eum diaconus et subdiaconus similiter: et demum duo et duo monachi similiter. Post quam omnes adoraverint, qui crucem tenent erigentes se, et levantes eam inchoent antiphonam "*Super omnia ligna*" et protinus, conventus cunctus veniam petat. Monachi autem illi duo crucem restituant in locum suum. Interim dum canitur antiphona, abbas cum duobus ministris suis descendendo de presbiterio induat casulam, et diaconus manipulum et stolam, et subdiaconus manipulum, accedant ad altare nudis pedibus, et more solito dicant orationes, et osculentur altare, et signantes se dicant confessionem sicut mos est. Quo facto diaconus corporale super altare ponat. Abbas vero corpus Domini cum illo vasculo in quo est corpus, deferat super altare ponens illud juxta corporale. Et cum diaconus calicem cum vino et aqua super altare

obtulerit abbati, et super corporale posuerit secundum consuetudinem, scilicet absque hostia, tunc abbas thurificet vasculum quod ipse juxta corporale posuerat. Demum aperto vasculo digitos lavet et extractam de vasculo sanctam communionem super corporale eam ponat ante calicem, et tunc levato corpore Domini, nec calice, dicat submissa voce "*Oremus, preceptis salutaribus.*" Post dominicam orationem, dicat "*sed libera nos a malo.*" Cum autem dixerit "*per eundem Dominum Nostrum,*" etc., dividat corpus Domini in tres partes et postea dicat "*Per omnia secula,*" et choro respondente "*Amen,*" nihil aliud dicat, sed tacendo mittat in calicem unam particulam nihil dicens, sumat ipse secundam partem, et de reliqua parte communicet ministros. Deinde bibat de calice, dans et de eodem ministris. Quo facto, statim conventus cum reverencia exiens pedes suos calciamentis induant. Aqua calida in claustro preparetur ut qui voluerint, possint abluere pedes. Nemo autem abluat pedes suos super terram vel super pavimentum, set honeste sedendo, super strapannum. Igitur sacrista auferat pallas de altari statim, abbate de presbiterio descendente, scilicet ante vesperas. Demum, pulsata tabula, vespere celebrentur, et laici fratres hora refectionis ecclesiam et chorum mundent, monachi dicant gracias in refectorio post mensam, et predicti fratres, interim post completorium, claustrum in circuitum totum, et capitulum. Hoc die totus conventus erit in pane et aqua. *C.* LXV.

De Vigilia Pasche.

In vigilia Pasche, dicta nona, tabula modice pulsetur, et abbas cum duobus ministris se induant sacris vestibus; et sacrista deferat analogium et librum Evangeliorum superpositum; et ponitur super gradum presbiterii ubi abbas solet stando benedicere novicios, et cineres, et ramos. Hiis itaque preparatis, tabula iterum

percutiatur ut in chorum veniant fratres. Tunc ignis in patella allatus de carbonibus ardentibus et vivis, benedicatur ab abbate, et aspergatur aqua benedicta, eodem modo quo stat ad benedicendum novicios verso vultu ad aquilonem. Interim omnia lumina in ecclesia extinguantur ut de igne benedicto reaccendantur. Sacrista autem preparet unam candelam quam de eodem igne accensam dabit subdiacono qui ad dextram diaconi ipsam candelam manu sua tenens, stant interim dum benedicitur cereus paschalis. Et dum ignis fuerit benedictus et candela prefata accensa, et subdiacono data fuerit, abbas eat in locum ubi solet stare, scilicet ante sedem suam verso vultu ad orientem. Et tunc diaconus accipiat stolam et benedicat cereum paschalem verso vultu ad orientem, astante ad dextram ejus subdiacono, candelam accensam manu sua tenente, Et dum diaconus legendo "*Exultet jam*" pervenerit ad illum locum "*Suscipe Sancte Pater incensi hujus*," &c., cantor imprimit quinque grana thuris in ipsum cereum in modum crucis. Et cum idem diaconus cantando pronunciat "*rutilans ignis accendit*" candelam sumens de manu subdiaconi, cereum paschalem flamescere faciat. Quo facto subdiaconus, extincta candela sua, eat in locum suum ante sedem suam. Benedictione vero consecuta, sequitur lectio. . . . Itaque cum diaconus cereum benedixerit statim stolam suam deponat et cum manipulo suo, et revertatur in locum suum. Patella vero cum igne benedicto non debet portari de presbyterio donec cereus accendatur, et ut candela ejusdem possit reaccendi, si forte fuerit extincta. Abbas vero casulam induendus eat solus in vestiario prius quam diaconus finiat "*Exultat jam*," hoc est circa finem, et induat casulam, etlectione inchoata solus accedat ad altare. . . . Lectionibus et cantu finitis et collectis, abbas solus regreditur in vestiarium et casulam ibidem dimittat, et cum stola et manipulo ad locum suum revertatur stans ante sedem suam donec cantetur "*Peccatores te*

rogamus," tunc abbas cum ministris suis vestiarium ingressi se preparent ad missam; et cum incipitur sollempne "*Kyrie eleison*" in choro in quo est invicem cunctos (*sic*) lampades accendantur, et statim abbas cum ministris accedat ad altare et solitam orationem faciat. Finito "*Kyrie*" abbas incipiat "*Gloria in excelsis.*" Cum autem cantor dicit "*Et in terra pax*," mox major campana pulsetur usque ad illum locum "*Domine Deus Rex*," &c. *C.* LXVI.

In Vigilia Pentecostes.

In vigilia Pentecostes, a tercia usque ad sextam vacent fratres lectioni. Interim qui voluerint, dicant missas suas. Sonante orologio, sacrista pulsat majorem campanam, et conventus de dormitorio descendens in cucullis suis sedet ad lectionem aperto armario a cantore. Ad hanc missam (in vigilia Pentecostes) omnes lampades ardent et due candele accendantur. Ita dico quum incipitur "*Kyrie*" non prius. Tunc debent candele et lampades accendi. *C.* XCII.

Quo audito mox cum ministris suis descendit de altari induens casulam, et diaconus stolam, et subdiaconus manipulum; et lotis manibus stent in ingressu chori usque dum dicitur "*Kyrie*," scilicet solempne. Quo audito, ingrediuntur altare solito more facientes, et dum incipitur "*Confiteor*," mox major campana pulsatur ad missam. "*Gloria in excelsis*" solempniter cantatur, et postea una tantum collecta dicitur. In hac vigilia non utimur lacticiniis in cibo. *C.* XCII.

Quomodo Libri leguntur in Refectorio.

A tempore illo quo canitur "*Deus omnium*," usque ad calendas Augusti, leguntur in refectorio iiij libri Regum; et postea, libri Paralipomenon. Dum canitur historia "*In principio Deus*," legitur ad mensam parabola

Salamonis et postea Ecclesiastes et Cantica Canticorum, et Liber Sapiencie, et Liber Ihu filii Syrach qui Ecclesiasticus dicitur. In Kal. Septembris quum canitur "*Si bona*"; legitur ad mensam Liber Job, et ibi incipitur lectio in refectorio ubi dimissum fuerit ad vig. in choro videlicet "*Egressus Satan.*" In eodem mense cantatur historia "*Peto Domine,*" et legitur ad mensam primus liber Tobie ubi dimissum fuerit in choro ad vig. incipiendus est; et postea legitur Judich totaliter ad mensam, et similiter Hester et Esdra, &c. *C.* CXVI.

De Purificacione Sancte Marie.

In die Purificacionis post tertiam, abbas benedicat candelas positas in presbyterio, et postea aqua benedicta aspergat eas. Interim dum dicitur collecta ad tertiam, cantor apportat abbati librum super gradum presbiterii ad cereos benedicendos eodem modo stanti cum virga pastorali sicut ad benedictionem novicii solet fieri; et post benedictionem, cantor accipit tres candelas, et dat duas ministris altaris, et terciam accensam offerat abbati; quo facto statim incipitur "*Lumen ad revelationem.*" Interim secretarius reliquas candelas distribuat monachis et conversis ac noviciis et familie et hospitibus. Diaconus vera accensa candela sua de altari deferat crucem ante gradum presbiterii habens ante se stantem subdiaconum cum aqua benedicta, et ex utraque parte duos monachos minores cum duobus cereis magnis. Igitur monachis ordinatis fiat processio per claustrum sicut fit in processione palmarum. Porro cantor stans in presbiterio incipit antiphonam "*Ave,*" &c. ad exitum processionis, et statim exeunt illi duo fratres cum duobus cereis, postea diaconus et subdiaconus et alii sicut stabant ordinati. Igitur omnibus ingressis, missa solempniter celebratur. Et postquam diaconus evangelium perlegerit, et abbati sacrificium obtulerit, calicem scilicet, et hostiam super altari more

solito ordinaverit; tunc abbas candelam suam reddat sacriste, et diaconus ad cornu altaris dextrum offerat abbati suam, et post eum subdiaconus. Demum veniat abbas ad gradum presbyterii, et alii omnes tam monachi quam conversi offerant ei candelas suas a prioribus incipientibus osculando manum abbatis, vel sacerdotis si abbas defuerit. Quas sacrista accipiens a manu abbatis extinguat in aqua benedicta. *C.* CXXVI.

De S. Benedicto Abbate.

In festo S. Benedicti Abbatis . . . tres lampades accendantur et matutinalem missam audiat conventus . . . et regula inchoatur in capitulo. Semper ipso die Benedicti, conversi laborant—(*in margine*)—*C.* CXXX.

Festum de Spinea Corona. *C.* CLVIII.

In Festis Principalibus Anni.

In his diebus habentur due misse, et monachi vacant lectioni. *C.* CCVIII.

Quibus diebus Tres Lampades ardeant.

Ad vigilias Nativitatis Domini et ad vesperas, et ad missam; Apparicionis; Pasche; Pentecostes; Ascencionis; omnium solempnitatum Beate Marie; Nativitatis S. Johannis Baptiste; Apostolorum Petri et Pauli; Sancti Benedicti, et non in translatione ejus; Omnium Sanctorum; Dedicacionis ecclesie; omnium fidelium defunctorum ad vigilias, et ad vesperas, et ad missam tantummodo accendantur tres lampades; et in festo Sancte Trinitatis, et in die Palmarum. *C.* CCXIX.

Quibus diebus habetur Sermo.

Hiis festibus supradictis habetur in capitulo sermo. . . . In prima dominica Adventus Domini habetur sermo in capitulo, sed non accendantur tres lampades; et infesto Bernhardi, etiam fit sermo in capitulo et accendantur tres lampades. *C.* CCXX.

Quibus diebus non sumitur Mixtum.

Sciendum est quod a capite iejunii usque ad Pascha, non sumitur mixtum, exceptis dominicis diebus; et in tribus diebus Rogationum; et quatuor temporum; et vigiliis Domini et Sanctorum, non sumitur mixtum. *C.* ccxxiiii.

Quibus diebus non utimur Lacticiniis.

A prima dominica Adventus Domini usque ad Nativitatem Domini; et a dominica sexagesima usque ad Pascha; et in vigilia Pentecostes; et in vigilia Johannis Baptiste; et in vigilia Apostolorum Petri et Pauli; et in vigilia Laurencii; et in vigilia Assumpcionis Beate Virginis, &c., &c., hiis diebus non utimur lacticiniis nec in conventu nec in infirmario. Quod vero sextis feriis non utimur, hoc non fit ex ordine, set devocionis causa. *C.* ccxxv.

De Pace.

Notandum vero quod abbas, monachi, et conversi, quum missas audiunt in ecclesia que non sit de ordine nostro, sicut ceteri, pacem accipient cum eis offertur. *C.* ccxxvi.

De negligenciis Misse.

Si quid de Sanguine Domini ceciderit super corporale, recidendum est ipsum corporale, et particula cum fuerit in calice supposito sollicitius versata ac resincerata per trinam ablucionem de fistula argentea ad hoc opus idonea, in capsidibus et pixidibus in quibus reliquie sanctorum conduntur, reserventur, et pro reliquiis sanctorum de cetero habeantur.

END OF VOL. I.

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